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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

JAPANESE CANADIANS IN EDMONTON 1969:

An Exploratory Search for Patterns of Assimilation

by



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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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OF MASTER OF ARTS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Japanese Canadians in Edmonton 1969: An Exploratory Search for Patterns of Assimilation" submitted by Elizabeth Macdonald in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Fall, 1970



## ABSTRACT

Japanese emigrated during the late nineteenth century seeking adventure or improvement of their circumstances. In North America they were welcomed as filling the needs of developing industrial enterprises by supplying cheap steady labour. Their communities clustered along the Pacific Coast from lower British Columbia to California, and afforded social and psychological support for their economic purposes. Prosperity in the new lands during the 1920's and '30's challenged their orientation to their fatherland.

The circumstances of war between their fatherland and their new homeland, the event of Pearl Harbour, and their coastal location produced an explosive situation, which the American and Canadian governments met by ordering evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry regardless of citizenship into the interior beyond the defence areas. During and after the war in Canada they were resettled mainly in three areas--in the interior of British Columbia, in southern Alberta, and in southern Ontario. How have the Japanese fared after these experiences?

This study twenty-five years later explores their adaptation by focusing on a sample in Edmonton. Their situation vis-a-vis members of the larger community was examined with respect to residential pattern, occupational achievement, and participation in voluntary associations. Some notion of their attitudes and values was sought, and in addition, some indication of the psychological climate to which they might be adapting and at the same time contributing.

This study found that the Japanese Canadians in Edmonton identify themselves primarily as Canadians and do not consider



themselves a separate group. They are residentially widely dispersed and participate in the larger community mainly through their occupations and the public school system. The Japanese Community Club, which afforded social, psychological, and even economic support to the *issei* during the early decades of their experiences in Canada, especially during and for a time after the war years, seems no longer needed to fill these functions. *Nisei* and their children participate in the style of life characteristic of the social class to which their occupation offers them opportunity. Occupations are determined by their personal values and effort and the opportunities afforded by the larger community. Such achievement is compatible with the underlying value orientations of the *issei*, namely, hard work, achievement, and conformity for the sake of some idealistic goal. The difference between *issei* and *nisei* dispositions lies in the latter's trend towards individualism and spontaneity rather than familism and formality. *Nisei* aspire towards the same goals as do, presumably, their Canadian counterparts. The favourable image of Japanese Canadians in the minds of the community at large is simultaneously cause and effect in their achievement.

Similar research on Japanese Canadians in other locations may reveal contrasts interesting to students concerned with ethnic relations.



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I am, I think  
He is, I know  
For I see him  
Not only in my eye  
But in my mind  
He is, because I think  
He is, yet even so,  
He cannot see  
Himself, but only  
Me . . .

K. S.'s Wall, 1970





## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

"No man is an island, intire of it selfe," wrote John Donne three hundred years ago, "every man is a peece of the continent, a part of the maine."

The relationship between man and the continent has been the thoughtful concern of scholars and humanists alike for most of man's historical period. This study is concerned with the relationship between one group of human beings and members of the larger society which constitutes its human environment. Specifically it is concerned with the apparent assimilation of the Japanese into the larger heterogeneous society in the city of Edmonton in 1970, nearly three quarters of a century after the first Japanese immigrant came to Canada.

After Pearl Harbour the Japanese living along the Pacific coast were evacuated for security reasons by the Canadian government into the interior beyond the 100-mile radius of the Defence Zone. These included Japanese Canadian citizens, Japanese nationals, and their Canadian-born offspring. Some stayed in the British Columbia interior, some went to sugar beet farms in southern Alberta and Manitoba, some went to Ontario and Quebec. After the war some chose to be repatriated to Japan; most chose to remain in Canada. Forrest La Violette's book, *The Canadian Japanese and World War II*, explains the actions of the Canadian government, the factors operative in its decision-making, and something of the unfortunate migrations and



circumstances of the Japanese themselves during the war years. The excellence of Professor La Violette's study demands a response these twenty odd years later, in order to set down on record what the Japanese made of their circumstances.

The question raised by H. F. Angus in the Preface to Professor La Violette's study has not lost one whit of relevance during the quarter of a century since the publication of the book:

How should society deal with intolerant local minorities which say that they are likely to resort to violence if they are not allowed to exclude from their occupations or their neighbourhood a group which they dislike?<sup>1</sup>

It seems worthwhile to document the Japanese achievement now while the term "Japanese" is neutral to members of the larger Canadian society.

A few studies have been done enquiring how the Japanese have adapted after their traumatic experiences: for example, one by Hockin (1948) and one by Thurlow (1960) both based on Toronto material, and one by Nishi (1962) based on 1947-50 material in Chicago.<sup>2</sup> From such studies the social anthropologist hopes to discern variables operative in the assimilation process of the Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry. This, in turn, may be viewed as part of the larger search for variables operative in relationships between any ethnic group in a national context, surely a most relevant search in the 1970's.

### General Assumptions

Social science research is illuminated by awareness of its implicit and explicit goals. The goals held by the researcher derive



from personal experience and conviction and from the particular discipline.

The author does not wish to make invidious distinctions--for example, hard/soft--but declares her faith in the virtue of the inescapably value-laden approach described by Wolf, 1964: that science is a cultural artifact of mankind, dependent upon man's imagination in its search for meaningful answers to human problems, that anthropology among the social sciences is especially aware of its humanistic roots, that we shall never have completely open minds, and that scientific inquiry devoid of personal judgments is the modern myth.<sup>3</sup> However, the virtues of the ideal of scientific objectivity are not to be disregarded.

In order to render this study more objective it is necessary to declare the researcher's personal commitment. It is assumed that the results of social research can help all responsible citizens decide in a more enlightened fashion on courses of behaviour with respect to persons or groups categorized "ethnic" for whatever reasons. Harmony and complementarity are to be preferred for any viable society rather than prejudice, discrimination, violence, and confrontation. Progress towards a less frustrating society can be made by patient use of legitimate means within the structure of our Canadian society.

The goals of social anthropology vary dynamically with the discipline's characteristic of "becoming" throughout time. The human scene shifts over longer or shorter periods of time due to interaction of new techniques; new and larger populations; new economic, social,



and political relationships. It also shifts with changes in our body of knowledge, both in its quantity and quality, the use made of it, with attendant storage, retrieval, and communication problems. The relevance of research problems, therefore, varies with the passage of time.

### Relevance of this Research

It would seem relevant in 1969-70 for a social anthropologist to study ethnic groups within the same nation state. Canada's population is composed of groups from various nations, some differentiated on a racial basis, some on a religious basis. What factors encourage harmonious relationships between members of these groups? Can all Canadians as well as immigrants be said to be striving towards any common goals? These problems confronting all Canadians, individual citizens and social science researchers alike, form the framework within which this small study has been undertaken. How has one ethnic group--Japanese--adapted over a period of seventy years in this country, especially considering the unusual experience of evacuation? Can we perceive any pattern of recurring variables promoting or retarding assimilation of Japanese Canadians? Can we tease out what might be deemed any purely Japanese features at work in this process?

To be specific, this is a study of the Japanese in Edmonton. While initially the author wished to make a study of the Japanese Canadians in Alberta, investigation revealed that sheer numbers and geographical distribution precluded such a study at the Master's level. In 1961 there were 3,721 Japanese out of the total population in Alberta of 1,331,944,<sup>4</sup> scattered throughout the province mostly in





the southern half. Upon learning that the city of Edmonton contained an estimated population of around 800 citizens of Japanese ancestry in the city's population of over 405,000<sup>5</sup> it was decided to use the Edmonton situation for this particular research.

Another assumption is that patterns in the present can be better understood by looking into the past. It is appropriate, therefore, to describe briefly at this point the historical background of the Japanese in the city of Edmonton.

### Historical Background

Japanese emigration during the late nineteenth century was the result of complex factors operative both in Imperial Japan and in the prospective countries for settlement. After the middle of the nineteenth century Japan was characterized by a perennially stagnant agricultural economy. Shortage of arable land and natural resources and a high fertility rate meant the rural Japanese family had to subsist on tiny plots with resulting low standard of living. With a system of primogeniture younger sons were especially alerted to the opportunities suggested by emigration.<sup>6</sup> Even for younger sons emigration represented a step down in prestige; despite official dissolution of status categories in 1868 farmers were still regarded above merchants and just below the samurai. Younger sons, then, emigrated to the lands of golden opportunity hoping to get rich quick and return to Japan with enhanced status.

Opportunity was afforded by conjunction of policies of the Japanese Imperial Government, on the one hand, and of foreign governments, on the other. The Imperial Government, in order to fulfill



its destiny as a world power by means of industrialization along Western lines, needed colonies for raw materials and areas of political influence. Abroad lay the need for cheap efficient labour and the promise of steady wages--on the pineapple and sugar plantations in Hawaii, on the coffee and sugar plantations in Brazil, and on the transcontinental railways in both United States and Canada. In 1868 the Japanese Emperor was persuaded to allow Japanese labourers to emigrate to Hawaiian sugar plantations on a contract basis.<sup>7</sup> In the 1880's population increase, inflation, bad harvests, social dislocations due to industrialization, produced an atmosphere especially conducive to emigration, and the Imperial Government formally sanctioned emigration to America.<sup>8</sup>

The policy of Dominion agencies responsible for immigration has always stressed "adaptability to the Canadian way of life" with admission of immigrants "as employment conditions warrant," the goal being "satisfactory settlement."<sup>9</sup> At the turn of the century Japanese immigrants, along with Chinese, were seen by the Canadian government agencies as fulfilling these requirements, namely adaptable labourers for railroad and lumber industries.

Thus, economic and ideological ambitions on the part of both sending and receiving governments, and of individuals, seemed likely to be fulfilled by a policy of Japanese migration. Agreements were reached between the Imperial Japanese Government, Japanese immigration companies, and the respective government in the United States, Canada, Hawaii, and Brazil.

The Japanese immigrants for the most part remained Japan-oriented in the new lands for some decades regardless of their



intentions with respect to permanent residence. The Imperial Japanese Government had a strong Japan-Emperor-oriented education policy from 1872 onwards, and reinforced by the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890. Younger males mostly emigrated (the younger ones), returning later to Japan for wives or brides, or sending for them.<sup>10</sup>

At first the Japanese immigrants to America were regarded by the host societies with amicable curiosity. The political and economic relations of both United States and Canada vis-a-vis Japan were very favourable at the turn of the century. "It was not until they began to come in large numbers and to provide economic competition that amity changed to friction."<sup>11</sup>

Statistics show an increasing number of Japanese immigrants into United States, Canada, and Brazil. The year 1907 was one of great Japanese immigration to Canada, a reflection of the "Gentleman's Agreement" between United States and Japan. In that year 8,196 Japanese males arrived in British Columbia.<sup>12</sup> Japanese immigrants continued to arrive in British Columbia, and even the United States despite the "Gentleman's Agreement." In 1924 the United States forbade entry of all Asiatics to the mainland and to Hawaii, and Canada followed suit.<sup>13</sup>

The people of British Columbia have always been sensitive to population statistics and to the racial proportions represented there, at the root of which is fear of being overrun by Asiatics. Even in 1946 La Violette can write:

The people of British Columbia are still in process of organizing their social relations. At the present time it appears that the principles of social action stated publicly as ideals are not entirely in line with the kinds of people who make up the society. Social relationships are in the process of change,





and the presence of Chinese, Japanese, East Indians, North American Indians, and some sectarian groups creates a conflict between ideals of action, based upon democratic ideals and Christian theology, and the biological struggle for survival, economic competition, remaining British, and defending the Empire. This gap between ideals and those to whom they are applicable in specific modes of conduct accounts in part for the intensity with which the beliefs regarding the Japanese threat to the standard of living, and their inassimilability, are held.<sup>14</sup>

World War II really cut off the Japanese immigrants from contact with the fatherland, producing a crisis situation for respective governments and for the Japanese immigrants. After Pearl Harbour the situation in the United States and Canada was one of wartime emergency with Japanese nationals and American-born alike suspected of complicity with enemy Japan. In such a situation the federal governments in both United States and Canada decided after much consideration to evacuate the Japanese communities clustering along the Pacific coast into the interior beyond the Defence Zone.

In British Columbia the evacuation and redistribution of persons of Japanese ancestry was effected by means of the British Columbia Security Commission and other local sub-committees. The disposition of their property of various kinds was likewise handled by a number of committees under the Custodian of Alien Property in the name of the Crown. During this period the Japanese were not wards of the Crown; the government's policy was "full employment and self-support" wherever they were located.<sup>15</sup> This emergency situation was ripe for political manipulation at local levels; there was a federal election coming up in 1945, as Professor La Violette's book reveals.

In 1946 after the war the Japanese were urged to repatriate to Japan, and many did so. For the rest, the "east of the Rockies"



movement began. This movement symbolized their intention of remaining permanently in Canada. Location was dictated by job opportunities, on the one hand, and by approval of local residents on the other, control during this period (1942-46) being held by the Minister of Labour who had powers to issue to Japanese travel permits, business licenses, and work permits. Thus, the policy of wartime evacuation and relocation evolved into a policy of permanent dispersal of the segregated coastal settlements.<sup>16</sup> Actual figures are relevant at this point.

### Population Statistics

Residents of Japanese ancestry were first listed in Dominion Census figures in 1901. At that time there were 4,738 persons of Japanese ancestry.<sup>17</sup> They lived mostly around Vancouver and were mostly males, having emigrated during the late 1890's. The 1941 census shows 23,149 persons of Japanese ancestry<sup>18</sup> of which 22,000 were in British Columbia.<sup>19</sup> This increased figure was due to continued immigration until 1924 and to natural increase. In 1946 some 3,964 of these were repatriated to Japan.<sup>20</sup> The remaining 18,000 were resettled: approximately one-third remained in eastern British Columbia, one-third went to Alberta and Manitoba, and one-third went to Ontario and Quebec.<sup>21</sup>

The 1961 Census shows a total of 29,157 persons of Japanese ancestry in Canada's population of 18,238,247<sup>22</sup> or .16 per cent. This figure can be interpreted as due to natural increase since Japanese immigrants did not enter Canada after 1924 until 1957 when restrictions were lifted permitting "anyone regardless of country of origin, religion" to enter as an immigrant. In 1961 there were 3,721 persons



of Japanese ancestry in Alberta<sup>23</sup> or .28 per cent. In the city of Edmonton in 1969 with a population of 405,000<sup>24</sup> the number of persons of Japanese ancestry is estimated at around 800,<sup>25</sup> which is about .18 per cent of Edmonton's population.<sup>26</sup>



Footnotes to Chapter I

1. La Violette, F. E., 1948, p. vii.
2. Two other studies on the Japanese in British Columbia (1962) are in the Japanese language and have not been translated as far as this author knows. Two further studies on the Japanese in British Columbia, when requested on inter-library loan, appear to have been "lost".  
Studies on a larger scale have been done on the Japanese in Brazil, Paraguay, and Hawaii, but of course there the Japanese did not experience evacuation and resettlement.
3. Wolf, E., 1964. F. P. Kilpatrick, 1961, expresses the same opinion.
4. Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1961 Census.
5. Edmonton Chamber of Commerce figure.
6. Fukutake, T., 1962.
7. Early in the seventeenth century the Tokogawa Shogunate forbade any Japanese to leave the country in accordance with its strict isolation policy.
8. Girdner and Loftis, 1969, pp. 35-36.
9. *Canada Year Book 1961*, p. 182.
10. The exception to this was in Brazil, where it was immigration company policy to select family units rather than single males.
11. Girdner and Loftis, 1969, p. 25.
12. *Canada Year Book 1946*, p. 188.
13. Brazil set a quota for Japanese immigrants in 1934. Paraguay did not permit any Japanese immigration until persuaded to do so by Brazil in 1936. From Stewart, Norman R., 1967, p. 79.
14. La Violette, F. E., 1948, p. 286.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-3.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-6.
17. *Canada Year Book 1961*.
18. *Ibid.*
19. La Violette, F. E., 1948, p. 77.





20. *Ibid.*, Appendix.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
22. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961, 92-545.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, 1969.
25. Estimate of Vice-Consul for Japan in Edmonton, 1969.
26. It is interesting to compare the figures for Japanese immigrants elsewhere. In Hawaii in 1960 persons of Japanese ancestry constitute 30 per cent of the population (Lind, 1955). In Brazil in 1960 they are estimated to constitute less than one per cent of the total population (U. S. Army Area Handbook on Brazil, 1967, p. 271). Paraguay made its first census in 1950 and estimated its total population at 1,400,000; in 1958 it is claimed there are 4,660 Japanese immigrants there (Norman H. Stewart, 1967).



## CHAPTER II

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Curiosity is an intrinsic trait of the human mind and a compelling drive in the exploration of man's surroundings. Of equal importance is the fact that the "cultivated" man is an invincible classifier and organizer of his experiences. He tries to find a scheme for understanding their complexity and causal relationships.

--Pauline V. Young

The scheme for organizing the data from this exploratory research is constructed from the theorizing of a number of dedicated researchers.

#### Broad Theoretical Framework

The broadest framework within which this study is set is Parsons' general scheme of action under general systems theory.<sup>1</sup> A system is "a set of variable entities so related that, first, some variation in any one is followed by a predictable variation in at least one other; second, that there is at least one sequence of variations which involves all of the entities."<sup>2</sup> Parsons' scheme describes "the structures and processes by which human beings form meaningful intentions and, more or less successfully, implement them in concrete situations."<sup>3</sup> The world may be described as pluralistic: all human beings may be seen as clustering together in societies of some sort in their various environments, with their different patterns of adaptation which we call cultures. A human society is "a collection of people bound together by a set of ordered relationships and sharing common values."<sup>4</sup> Societies are demarcated territorially and politically, but are more or less



interrelated, interdependent, and interlocked--socially, economically, culturally, and ideologically. Societies may be differentiated from systems by reference to the processes by which these groupings evolve, maintain, and alter their patterns of adaptation. In our pluralistic world

many social systems, which are "partial" systems in terms of the concept of society, may be parts of more than one society. The simplest cases involve interpenetrating membership. Thus, emigration of a nuclear family makes it, by stages, a structural unit in the society to which it moves. Many relatives, however, remain in the "old country." Together with the migrating family, they certainly constitute social systems which penetrate or overlap two or more societies. The same can be said of business firms, professional associations, churches, and other organizations which maintain "branches" in two or more countries.<sup>5</sup>

A society is seen, thus, to be part of the broader international system.

International political and socio-economic systems are the larger environment in which the human actors migrate and adapt to new sub-environments. Factors in these larger systems as well as those in the more restricted national subsystems impinge on individual behaviour and decision-making. Within the individual are "inner" dynamic factors--learned, developed, matured value-orientations, or "hierarchical ordering of conditioning and controlling factors,"<sup>6</sup> which influence his behaviour. The individual organism may also be seen as a system of systems, and constitutes the bridge between his "inner" dynamic systems and the "outer" social and cultural systems which constitute his environment.<sup>7</sup> It is within the individual that decisions are made with respect to adapting to or modifying the continuing or changed "outer" environment. Thus, culture change and assimilation studies in their search for explanations of changes



in observable behaviour patterns on the group level, must give consideration to inferred common "inner" variables.

In assimilation studies there are conceptually two sets of human beings whose value-orientations, expectations, motives, and perceptions must be considered--those of the immigrants and those of members of the host society. The images or stereotypes each has of himself and of the other are mutually generating, supporting, and changing.<sup>8</sup> Changing environments result in changed perceptions of the situation, in changed values, images, stereotypes, and usually in changed behaviour. The social scientist may observe the changed behaviour patterns and from these infer changes in "inner" aspects.

Thus our broadest conceptual framework is chains of systems within systems within systems: human beings in relationships in environments. In order to analyze the processes of interaction and change in the interlocking systems, which result over longer or shorter periods of time in distinguishable behaviour patterns of individuals or groups, various authorities concerned with intergroup relations were consulted. Social scientists from various disciplines have contributed to the conceptual distinctions we may use to examine these processes. These will now be discussed.

### Cultural and Structural Concepts

The nature of entry into an alien state affects the immigrants' settlement there. Immigration refers to a more or less permanent change of residence of individuals or groups of persons from one nation state to another for various motives, admission being governed by emigration and immigration laws in force at the time. These





movements are voluntary or planned, as opposed to being enforced by violence or military measures. Financing of the operation has been on individual, private enterprise or governmental basis, or a combination of these.

When anthropologists first discussed the nature of social interaction between groups of persons from different ways of life the term "acculturation" became fashionable. Herskovits, thinking in terms of groups of preliterate Indian tribes and white contact, limited its application to "situations of contact over which there is historic control."<sup>9</sup> Ralph Linton in his discussion of acculturation focussed attention on the process of adaptation of immigrants to the United States, and pointed out that immigrants do not completely abandon their former ways of life and take over the new ways, but rather, that there is an exchange of culture elements and "in the long run" there will emerge a new society and culture.<sup>10</sup> Herskovits came to the same conclusion.

It was early recognized that "diffusion" was to be distinguished from "acculturation," the former referring to the transfer of culture traits (behaviour traits, ideas, or artifacts) from one group to another, by various means, and not necessarily implying direct contact between persons from different ways of life. For example, it could be a trade situation, regular or sporadic. At all times it is individuals who receive the ideas about behaviour or artifacts rather than the abstract "group."<sup>11</sup>

Such distinction led to the perception of the dynamism in the acculturation processes: that by social interaction change is effected in the thought and behaviour of immigrants and host society



alike. That is, it is reciprocally ongoing: subsystems in mutual transactional processes. These processes take place in an environmental setting which influences both members of the host society and immigrants, though not necessarily in the same way. Specific factors whose influence must be considered are: geography, climate, resources, technology, and general differences in life style and values of yet other human groups.<sup>12</sup>

It is useful to distinguish biological from socio-cultural processes. The terms "amalgamation," "integration," and "absorption" have been used by various writers in assimilation studies to refer to the biological process, the fusion of genetic heritages, as occurs in intermarriage:

The term amalgamation may be used for that mixture of blood which unites races in a common stock, while assimilation is that union of their minds and wills which enables them to think and act together. Amalgamation is a process of centuries, but assimilation is a process of individual training.<sup>13</sup>

The socio-cultural processes of acculturation and assimilation, on the other hand, may also be distinguished.

Assimilation may be paraphrased as "the attenuation of differences"<sup>14</sup> or rivalries between immigrant groups and members of a host society, and "goes on at varying rates at different periods of time and between different groups. It is generally conceded that in the case of all immigrant groups, assimilation cannot be complete in one generation."<sup>15</sup>

Acculturation was paraphrased in the 1930's by the Social Science Research Council Committee on Acculturation:

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture of either or both groups.<sup>16</sup>



Milton M. Gordon points out that this designates but one aspect--cultural behaviour--of the total process as he conceives it. It says nothing about structural relationships or self-identification. Gordon, of course, in 1964 had a longer time perspective from which to draw distinctions and to synthesize. He presents a paradigm of stages perceivable in the process over generations. This paradigm is an abstraction for use in distinguishing variables and searching for their interrelationships. A hypothetical goal of complete assimilation to the host culture and society gives point to the paradigm. This goal in no way connotes value judgments, he points out; its function is heuristic. Thus, we distinguish assimilation subprocesses and complete assimilation, an abstract, final, perfect, and, possibly, unattainable product. Table I shows his list of distinguishable aspects of assimilation. Gordon points out "not only is the assimilation process mainly a matter of degree, but, obviously, each of the stages or subprocesses distinguished in the table may take place in varying degrees."<sup>17</sup>

These seven subprocesses can be used to measure the realities of what actually happens regardless of the goal of the process conceived, whether in the minds of the observer or of the members of the ethnic group or of the core culture. Various goals have been postulated: "melting pot," "adaptation to core society and core culture," "cultural pluralism," "total assimilation," "mosaic." Again, these terms are used in a neutral fashion, regardless of the feasibility of such a goal.

The acculturation subprocess covers the taking over of the host society's manner of dress, technology, language, and other readily





TABLE I  
ASSIMILATION PARADIGM

Subprocess or Condition	Type of Assimilation	Special Term
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioural assimilation	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society on primary level	Structural assimilation	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation	None
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation	None
Absence of discrimination	Behavioral receptional assimilation	None
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation	None

Source: Gordon, 1964, p. 71.

observable traits, which have usually been the data upon which previous acculturation and assimilation studies have been based.<sup>18</sup>

"Prejudice," referred to attitudes, is distinguished from "discrimination," referring to behaviour. Discriminatory acts and prejudiced attitudes disappear and a sense of peoplehood shared with the core culture and core society develops as the subsociety takes on the intrinsic patterns of the core culture. "Intrinsic" refers to religious beliefs and practices, ethical values, aesthetic preferences, and recreational patterns.<sup>19</sup>





The term "ethnicity" is used to embody the notion of "shared feelings of peoplehood" whether deriving from categories of race, religion, or "a sense of special ancestral identification."<sup>20</sup>

Gordon uses the terms "core culture," "core society," to designate the culture, society to which the ethnic groups is presumably assimilating. This paper uses these terms as well as "host," and "majority."

As the members of any ethnic group become increasingly assimilated, they tend to fall into the stratification levels corresponding to those in the core society. Gordon's term "ethclass" designates "the subsociety created by the intersection of the vertical stratification of ethnicity with the horizontal stratifications of social class."<sup>21</sup> He states that "the participation field and the field of close behavioural similarities are likely to be class-confined, as well as ethnic-confined."<sup>22</sup>

Gordon also differentiates the psychological constellations of "historical identification" ("I am bound up with the fate of these people") from "participational identification" ("these are the people I can relax with").<sup>23</sup>

Marginality is another dynamic concept in Gordon's model. The marginal man is "the person who stands on the borders or margins of two cultural worlds but is fully a member of neither."<sup>24</sup> Marginal persons may come to constitute a marginal subsociety, which is "the sociological enemy of ethnic parochialism."<sup>25</sup>

Gordon also hypothesizes that the core culture and society, far from being homogeneous and static, is heterogeneous, and changes as a



result of the reciprocal interaction among the subcultures, the marginal groups, and the core culture.

This is in line with what Vallee, Schwartz, and Darknell mean when they speak of differentiation and assimilation as being simultaneous and reciprocal processes. Differentiation refers to the process

by which ethnic groups become less similar. Conversely, assimilation refers to the process by which ethnic groups become more similar . . . ethnic assimilation and differentiation can go on concurrently in the same group at different levels and in different parts of the society.<sup>26</sup>

The reference group to which (in the eyes of the researcher) the ethnic group is adapting is often characterized as "the Anglo-Saxon Middle Class Protestant" group. This is a distortion of reality and obscures the emergence and maintenance of the differentiation of groups in different spheres:

The social structure of an ethnically plural society is more aptly characterized as a constellation of ethnic groups, which are becoming more like each other in some ways (that is, assimilating to one another) and less like each other in other ways (that is, differentiation).<sup>27</sup>

They also distinguish cultural from structural assimilation. Cultural assimilation, for them, refers to taking on the characteristic style of living, attitudes, speech, and expressive and recreational forms of the core culture. In structural assimilation the unit is the social system and its elements--position, status, role, reference group. "Structural assimilation exists when ethnic origin is not a relevant attribute in allocation of individuals to roles, rights, facilities, and so on."<sup>28</sup>

Gordon claims that structural assimilation inevitably precedes and leads to marital assimilation.<sup>29</sup>



Civic assimilation--not raising public issues which would dichotomize on an ethnic basis--would be another index of assimilation beyond primary groups.

### Psychological Concepts

In addition to concepts relevant to observable behaviour most authorities on intergroup relationships use concepts to describe psychological attributes and processes assumed to take place within individual members of the groups in question. A. Irving Hallowell, 1955, stresses that such psychological variables should not be overlooked. Parsons' hierarchy of conditioning and controlling factors includes both external conditions and "inner" psychodynamics. A. F. C. Wallace, 1961, discusses these "inner" dynamics.

He claims that both culture and personality depend upon systems of predictable expectations. Each individual learns to expect others to behave in predictable ways (observable patterns), and on the basis of this knowledge he acts in order to maximize his values and minimize his frustrations. What are seen in culture patterns are persons behaving in predictable ways which they have learned most satisfy their inner needs or values. The crux of the matter is how each individual learns to perceive the situation. Perception is "but an abstraction from a total evolving process which includes space and time and environment, as well as the organism in an indissoluble whole."<sup>30</sup> Persons in the same culture may be assumed to perceive the situation in an equivalent way (though this cannot be demonstrated) if they continue to act in predictable or reliable ways.





Wallace's point is that "values" is a loose term<sup>31</sup> and that an individual's or group's value-system is complex. Thus, Porter's phrase "shared values" must not be taken simplistically. The values of a people or culture are not any and all objects which have emotional directive connotations but "only those which the anthropologist can show to be widely shared, to be considered 'desirable,' as well as merely 'desired,' and to pervade many different cultural categories; in a word, are abstractions of a very high order."<sup>32</sup>

The distinction must be made between underlying value orientations and their manifestations in behaviour, which is observable.<sup>33</sup> Values are inferred from behaviour. Behaviour is ambiguous or multi-functional,<sup>34</sup> that is, it may be attributed to a number of motives or value orientations; the same outward behaviour may stem from different combinations of value orientations; or conversely, the same underlying value orientations may result in changed behaviour patterns or a seeking after new values, depending upon the perceptions of the situation. Furthermore, some values are instrumental values. This transformation of means into ends, or vice versa, also depends upon the individual's perception of the situation. Wallace holds that some, not all, values or motives are shared, that is, perceived as expedient, by members of a culture as a matter of policy in order to maximize their values. Thus, social or cultural institutions of a society are shared, in this sense, by its members. And it is values shared in this complementary fashion which the social scientist may infer from outward behaviour.<sup>35</sup> He is aware also that shorter or longer time perspectives can thus yield different interpretations





about the inferred relationships of ends and means from the data he observes.

Thus, in a contact situation, a person must learn new ways to achieve his ends--to maximize his values, whatever they may be. He learns that he must exercise new controls and behave in new or modified ways. He may learn new values. Thus, in a sense, the new ways of doing things, the new "others" towards whose expectations he must behave in complementary fashion and whose language he must learn in order to communicate, impose new limits upon him. Within this new set of controls he learns new ways to maximize his values.

The distinction is made implicitly in Wallace's book between conscious values (part of Wallace's cognitive map) and unconscious or underlying value orientations, with their emotional and directive components. Florence Kluckhohn's value orientations scheme<sup>36</sup> supports Wallace's hypothesis. Her conceptualization offers a useful method to analyse the "inner" forces at work, shaping the abstract "culture" or "personality." She claims that every human group must somehow meet five basic problems, and the manner in which these are regarded constitute the value orientations or dispositions characteristic of that society.

These value orientations are concerned with the nature of man himself (is man good, bad, or perfectible?), the relation of man to nature and forces unknown to him (does man placate, manipulate, or submit to these?), the nature of preferred activity (active or passive), the relationship of man to other men (are men equal? which is more important: the group or the individual?), and the relationship of man



with respect to time (is he concerned more with the past, present, or future?). She emphasizes that all of these orientations are present in each individual, usually unconsciously, that they are hierarchically arranged, that is there is one habitually dominant value orientation, and that they become patterned into dispositions or "systematic variations." Individuals make their choices among alternatives with reference to all these orientations simultaneously, and which one determines a particular decision depends both on the ranking and patterning of orientations and on how the situation is perceived by the individual.

Among the major perceptions are one's self-image and the images or stereotypes of other persons or things. Stereotyping characterizes human thinking, its function being economy of thought--"a technique of survival in day-to-day affairs."<sup>37</sup> A stereotype or image is a thumbnail sketch, a vignette, not validated by experience, developed from any one of a number of possible sources around some object, person, or idea. Its content is haphazard, and the total effect may be cognitively irrational but at the same time affectively warm, cool, or neutral. Images vary in content and stability and may change over time, partly in response to perceived interests.<sup>38</sup>

An individual reacts, usually unconsciously, to the image others have of him and vice versa.<sup>39</sup>

Members of different ethnic groups interact on the basis of the conceptions they form of one another. Stereotypes may not be accurate, but they represent the ways in which people see each other.<sup>40</sup>

This mutual interaction of images or stereotypes is discussed by a number of authorities.<sup>41</sup> All agree that the image concept is a



heuristic abstraction, and elusive, but that it does afford some measure of explanation for human behaviour.

While image and stereotype have been used interchangeably by authorities we can say that an "ethnic stereotype" is an image which has become conventionalized and sanctioned by public opinion. It is

a relatively stable opinion of a generalizing and evaluative nature . . . it refers to a category of people and suggests that they are all alike in a certain respect . . . It is therefore an undifferentiated judgment.<sup>42</sup>

An image or ethnic stereotype may come to have an emotional component; and if it expresses disapproval and is rigidly held, may then be said to be a prejudice.<sup>43</sup>

In contrast, attitudes lack this rigid closed quality.

Attitudes proper may be driving or directive, specific or general, common or individual. They characteristically have a material or conceptual object of reference, and are "pointed" in some direction with respect to this object . . . Attitudes are never directly observed, but, unless they are admitted through inference as real and substantial ingredients in human nature, it becomes impossible to account satisfactorily either for the consistency of any individual's behaviour, or for the stability of any society.<sup>44</sup>

F. Kluckhohn also emphasizes the often overlooked component of direction mentioned by Allport. How are individuals or groups motivated to reproduce the "patterns of culture," to behave within the norms of society? Because, as has been hypothesized, they perceive their needs as being satisfied by the institutions of their society, or if not, there is nothing to be done about it. Perceptions change over time, even as do conditions for life.

Thus, change in perceived needs, in the perception of the situation, in sociocultural systems of expectations, are met by reference to the underlying value orientations. F. Kluckhohn's hypothesized



model of dominant and second and third order patterned variations explains the flexibility of human behaviour, how human beings adapt to outwardly changing circumstances, as for example, in the case of immigrants. The key lies in the degree of compatibility of the underlying value systems of the two "cultures" in question.

F. Kluckhohn's variation hypothesis allows us to see that traditional values need not necessarily clash with new or "modern" values. Herein lies the relevance of all this discussion to a study on ethnic relations. If immigrants hold underlying value orientations that are compatible with those held by members of the host society, then the traditional behavioural values of the immigrants may have adaptive value in the new situation, which offers new ways of achieving compatible ends.<sup>45</sup> This approach helps to explain Milton Gordon's contention that cultural values, being superficial (like language and dress), are first to change in the acculturation phase. Furthermore, the notion of transacting images or stereotypes helps explain why the successive stages in assimilation take a longer time: because images are elusive and of adaptive value to the holder rather than being rational descriptions of the person or object and, if once stereotyped, are held beyond all evidence to the contrary.

### Summary of Theoretical Framework

From the discussions by these various authorities, then, the broad theoretical model and concepts for this research emerge. In the chains of systems within systems the processes of assimilation and differentiation take place simultaneously--within each and all of







the subsocieties and classes, even within individuals, within their respective associational and institutional networks, at varying degrees and at different rates. Marginal persons may be linked to two or more subsocieties or classes, and in their role-ambiguity lies the power of influencing members of both groups and the potential for change. Such a heterogeneous society is contained within national geographic boundaries. Such boundaries are formally political, but in reality there are many economic, cultural, and ideological linkages with other nation states.

Each individual has some areas of choice. In our rapidly changing society new situations arise in daily life for which there are no norms. Here the individual decides according to his personal value orientations, his system of expectations, and his definition of the situation. Change is perceivable in social patterns when enough individuals do things in a new way.

To what extent do the Japanese in Edmonton do things in a new way, different from their parents? To what extent do they differ from other Canadians? These are the questions we shall attempt to answer.

### The Empirical Situation

At the turn of the century, then, a number of Japanese emigrated on a voluntary individual basis to try their chances with the economically more hopeful prospects in Canada, a country at that time having favourable economic and cultural dispositions with their own fatherland. They found a climate and terrain not dissimilar, at least on the Pacific coast, to that in their homeland, though of vaster proportions. While at that time industrialization and urbanization were



attributes of Canadian society, it was still sufficiently rural and open to accommodate the skills and vigour of the Japanese immigrants. These Japanese immigrants clustered along the Pacific coast in their own communities, supporting themselves and fitting into the Canadian fishing, lumbering, and farming industries.

Since that time many changes have taken place within Canadian society and on the international scene. Japan emerged as an industrial and military world power culminating in Pearl Harbour and World War II. The Canadian Japanese on the Pacific coast were evacuated and resettled east of the Rockies.

Canadian society has become increasingly urban and industrial, and more populous through natural increase and immigration from various nations. For various reasons the United States has replaced Great Britain as the major political and economic influence on Canadian society. All these changes impinge on all individual Canadians, regardless of national origins, via occupation, education, and the mass media, affecting their economic security, their social relations, their mobility, as well as their conscious world view and attitudes and their unconscious dispositions.

How have the Japanese immigrants fared through these changes? There are now three generations of Japanese in Canada, referred to as *issei*, *nisei*, and *sansei*.<sup>46</sup> To what degree can we say the Canadians of Japanese ancestry have become assimilated in the city of Edmonton? To what extent are they culturally and structurally assimilated? Can we discern ethclass characteristics? Do they intermarry? What are the goals to which they aspire? Do they constitute a group?



Footnotes to Chapter II

1. Grinker, Roy R., Sr., 1967.
2. Wallace, A. F. C., 1961, p. 31.
3. Parsons, Talcott, 1966, p. 5.
4. Porter, John, 1967, p. 9.
5. Parsons, Talcott, 1966, p. 1.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
7. Wallace, A. F. C., 1961, *passim*.
8. Boulding, Kenneth, 1956, *passim*.
9. Herskovits, Melville J., 1958, pp. 15-17.
10. Linton, Ralph, 1936, p. 335.
11. *Ibid.*, *passim*.
12. Steward, Julian, 1955.
13. Commons, John R., 1907, p. 209. See also Lind, Andrew W., 1967.
14. Johnston, Ruth, 1965, p. 6.
15. La Violette, Forrest E., 1948, p. 9.
16. The Social Science Research Council Committee on Acculturation was headed by Robert Redfield, Melville J. Herskovits, and Ralph Linton. See *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1936, p. 149. This committee distinguished culture-change, acculturation, assimilation, and diffusion, as does this study.
17. Gordon, Milton M., 1964, p. 71.
18. Others recently have been aware, also, that there were more aspects of the process to be distinguished than the readily observable traits. For instance, Lind, 1967, distinguishes assimilation connoting "spiritual fusion of peoples of different cultures" and amalgamation referred to the biological fusion of heritages.
19. Gordon, Milton M., 1964, p. 79.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 24. Essentially the same idea of ethnicity was spelled out earlier by Vallee, Schwartz, and Darknell, 1957: They take ethnicity as an ascribed attribute, like age or sex,



"which defines status and role in certain situations, which should stress the element of descent from ancestors who shared a common culture based on national origin, language, religion, or race, or a combination of these," p. 541.

21. Gordon, Milton M., *op. cit.*, p. 51.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58. Gordon elaborates on the concept originated by Robert E. Park, 1928, and developed by Everett V. Stonequist, 1935. He claims that a subsociety of marginal men is "taking place in American society today, in one area particularly--the social worlds of 'the intellectual' and the creative and performing artist."
25. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
26. Vallee, Schwartz, and Darknell, 1957, p. 549.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Porter, John, 1965, p. 72 (paraphrasing Vallee).
29. Gordon, Milton M., 1964, p. 80.
30. Kilpatrick, Franklin P. (ed.), 1961, p. 4.
31. Wallace, A. F. C., 1961, p. 101.
32. *Ibid.*
33. This distinction was made initially by Pareto in the nineteenth century and stressed by others more recently. See McGiffert, 1964.
34. Duijker and Frijda, 1960.
35. Wallace, A. F. C., *op. cit.*, p. 30.
36. Kluckhohn, F. and Fred L. STrodbeck, 1961.
37. McGiffert, Michael (ed.), 1964, p. ix.
38. Duijker and Frijda, 1960, pp. 115 ff.
39. Boulding, Kenneth E., 1956.
40. Shibutani, Tamotsu and Kiam M. Kwan, 1965, p. 87.





41. For example, by Duijker and Frijda, 1960; Kenneth Boulding, 1956; Milton M. Gordon, 1964; George De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1967; Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; T. Parsons, 1966; G. W. Allport, 1954; Harold Isaacs, 1958; Cantril, 1960.
42. Duijker and Frijka, 1960, p. 115.
43. G. W. Allport quips that a prejudice is "being down on something you're not up on," quoted in Barnouw, 1963, p. 392.
44. G. W. Allport, "Attitudes," in Russell and Russell, 1935, p. 839.
45. Allport's "attitudes" are like A. Leighton's "sentiments," (and Cooley's). This position is also held by Nishi, 1962.
46. *Issei* (the first, the immigrant generation), *nisei* (second generation) and *sansei* (third generation) are Japanese terms used by the Japanese themselves in their communities in California in the 1920's as the second generation began to appear. An active communication network, by means of bilingual newspapers and word of mouth, popularized these terms and stabilized them in their English language. Communications extended along the Pacific coast to the Japanese settlements in British Columbia.
47. This position is held by Nishi, 1962.



## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

Useful results may be obtained from less than perfect methods, provided the investigator is cognizant of the hazards that he runs, and only the most rigorous theoretician would insist that all analysis be suspended until the apparatus be made scientifically impeccable.

- Michael McGiffert

To answer the questions posed at the end of the last chapter required, on the one hand, personal communication with Japanese Canadians in the city of Edmonton, and on the other, some assessment of their environment. What was needed was a household census, a picture of their participation in voluntary groups and some indication of their attitudes and values. Practical considerations--those of time, money, and suitability of scope for Master's degree--influenced the researcher's choice of method.

The researcher approached the Japanese Vice-Consul, who gave opinions on relative numbers of Japanese Canadians in the city, as well as a prominent Japanese Canadian businessman, who gave the researcher the name of the President of the Japanese Community Club in Edmonton.

This last gentleman proved most cooperative and encouraging. Through him this project received his list of members of the Japanese Community Club. Unfortunately this list was out of date, but he personally ticked off twenty family names of persons who he knew still lived in Edmonton and who had lived here for some time, and who constituted a "representative sample," this is, in his opinion they were representative of education, occupation, residence, and age. He



promised to let the researcher have the up-to-date list which was being prepared by the Secretary of the Japanese Community Club.

There are an estimated eight hundred Canadians of Japanese ancestry in Edmonton at the present time, deduced from some 350 Japanese names in the city telephone directory, the opinion of the Japanese Vice-Consul, and the last (1961) Census. In view of the fact that the number of recent immigrants from Japan has increased since 1962, it is not unreasonable to consider residence in Canada for at least ten years to be the criterion for having experienced the influences of the core culture sufficiently to show some effects, and therefore to be considered as suitable subjects for this research. It turned out there were about one hundred such families. It was decided to interview personally "as many as reasonably possible" of these to give a fair sample, using an interview guide (see Appendix A, page 100). It must be remembered that the researcher is a member of the core culture towards whom the interviewees might hold ambivalent attitudes. Therefore, to keep the possibilities of rapport at the highest it was decided to do only one interview per household and to keep the interviews brief (about one hour). It must be pointed out that there was no way to determine ahead the number for a representative sample since no one knew how many Japanese Canadians there were in fact, or who they were.

The interview guide was first tried out on the President of the Japanese Community Club and his wife. He gave his approval and suggested modifications.

Thus, the project was begun with the twenty names. Dr. C. S. Brant, Chairman of the Anthropology Department of the University of



Alberta, Edmonton, graciously wrote a letter to each of the twenty names, introducing the researcher and saying that the President of the Japanese Community Club had approved the idea of the research and that the researcher would be telephoning to arrange an interview.

Accordingly, eighteen of the twenty families were interviewed; sickness and prolonged absence from the city ruled out two. Rapport was excellent, such that the interviews tended to run overtime.

In the meantime the revised membership list of the Japanese Community Club came to hand. This list comprised some 350 names, lifted from the 1969 telephone directory it was later revealed. The problem arose: how many and whom to interview now? How many of these Japanese names had just recently come to Edmonton? It was decided to interview persons from the old list not already interviewed and who also appeared on the revised list. This second batch also comprised twenty family names, to whom Dr. Brant's letter of introduction was sent.

A total of sixty-eight persons were interviewed, usually men with their wives and sometimes children. Confidentiality was stressed and restressed. Since the patterns revealed in the first batch of interviews were confirmed in the subsequent batch, it was decided to do no further interviews.

However, after the initial data was analyzed some questions remained with respect to their communication network and their identity. In an attempt to clarify these, some thirteen of the original interviewees were selected on the basis of their availability and expected willingness to be interviewed a second time.

In addition an attempt was made to find out whether there was a positive or negative or neutral image of "Japanese" for non-Japanese





residents of the city at this time. This image the Japanese would have had to adapt to or had even, themselves in part created. A Japanese Image Survey was carried out on a number of university students in March, 1970, in an attempt to find out whether the atmosphere in which the Japanese are living at the present time is indeed neutral as hypothesized (See Appendix B, page 104).

In addition during the course of this research notes were accumulated by the researcher to indicate the interest in "things Japanese" on the part of the wider Edmonton community.



## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

Only in the study of human beings is it possible for the scientist to talk to his subject and investigate directly his thinking processes. The social scientist can secure about the object of his study a degree of intimate and personal knowledge that is denied to the natural scientist. The latter cannot communicate with his subjects despite all his instruments of precision.

- Pauline V. Young

This chapter will present the results obtained in the following order:

- Part A: Results from interviewing: the household census, participation picture, expressions of attitudes and values, knowledge of Japanese culture; reliability of data; interpretation.
- Part B: Results from second interviewing of selected respondents: communication networks.
- Part C: Results from the Japanese image survey; interpretation.
- Part D: Note on popularization of "things Japanese" in larger Edmonton community.
- Part E: Summary.

#### Part A. Results From First Interviewing

The Interview Guide consisted of two parts. The first was designed to elicit simple matters of fact--household census, their participation in groups beyond the nuclear family. The second part consisted of open-ended questions on what they wished for at retirement, the generation gap, the evacuation, and their knowledge of Japanese culture.



TABLE II  
HOUSEHOLD CENSUS

Description	Number	Average Age
<i>issei</i> male married	3	82 years
<i>issei</i> female married	3	70 (estimate)
<i>nisei</i> male married	26	42
<i>nisei</i> female married	24	35 (estimate)
<i>nisei</i> male single	3	41
<i>nisei</i> female single	3	32 (estimate)
<i>sansei</i> male married	1	32
<i>sansei</i> female married	1	32 (estimate)
non-Japanese male married to )	1	36
Japanese-born female )	1	30 (estimate)
non-Japanese female married to <i>nisei</i>	2	25 (estimate)
Total	68	
Source: Macdonald field interviews, 1969		

Household census. Table II shows the household census as determined by the first interviewing. Sixty-eight persons were interviewed--thirty-one couples and six singles.

There were three mixed marriages--one non-Japanese male married to a Japanese girl, and two *nisei* married to non-Japanese girls.

There were thirty-five boys and twenty-nine girls living at home, with an average age of six years. The average number of children under nineteen years of age in each of the thirty-one families was just over two.<sup>1</sup>



The family pattern was the nuclear family. In only six households were there other persons living; only two of these were not relatives.

The residence pattern showed dispersal among all residential areas recognized by current real estate categories except slums. Of these eighty-one per cent owned their property, and nineteen per cent lived in apartments. These compare with average figures for Edmonton as reported by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1961: sixty-five per cent own property, and thirty-five per cent rent.

There were six wives who worked outside the family, three part-time.

No pattern was discernible with respect to regions in Japan from which the original *issei* came. About half simply did not know the name of the prefecture from which their parents or grandparents came. The prefectures which were named were the same as those mentioned in other studies on Japanese emigration.

The *issei* males interviewed arrived in Canada in 1908, 1912, and 1918. Their wives arrived a few years later. The *nisei* interviewed said their parents landed during the first two decades of this century. One couple interviewed were born and educated in Japan, came to Canada in 1956, and to Edmonton in 1960. One non-Japanese male was born in Portugal, educated in Germany, travelled to Japan, married a Japanese girl, and they both came to Edmonton in 1958.

When did the Japanese arrive in Alberta? One couple arrived in 1912, two in 1918, one in 1926. Most came during the evacuation from 1941 to 1942, with the exceptions mentioned in the preceding paragraph.





TABLE III  
BIRTHPLACE

Location	Number	Per Cent
Japan (including three who came in the 1950's)	11	16
Vancouver area	39	57*
Alberta (except Edmonton)	9	13*
Edmonton	5	7
Manitoba	2	3
Saskatchewan	1	2
Portugal	1	2
Total	68	100

Source: Macdonald field interviews, 1969.

\*These were evacuated.

When did the Japanese come to Edmonton? One couple arrived in 1912 (as mentioned previously). Five *nisei* were born in Edmonton. Most came in the 1940's and 1950's, and five came in the 1960's from elsewhere in Alberta. Table III above helps illustrate this migration.

With these migrations the education of the *nisei* was interrupted, as Table IV illustrates.

However, a high level of academic achievement was attained, above the national average, as indicated by Table V.

The occupational background in Japan of the immigrant *issei* was overwhelmingly rural. This refers to the family background of



TABLE IV  
LOCUS OF EDUCATION

Locus	Number of Persons
Japan (includes two born in Canada and sent to Japan for education)	13
British Columbia	19
Alberta	21
Both British Columbia and Alberta	13
Quebec	1
Europe	1
Total	68
Source: Macdonald field interviews, 1969	

the six *issei* interviewed and to that of the parents of the *nisei* interviewed. Most *nisei* said their parents and grandparents were farmers, but also mentioned: carpenter, soldier, small businessman, fisherman, logger, sawmill worker, silk woman, teacher, merchant, contractor, telephone operator, labourer.

In Canada prior to evacuation occupations of the *issei* generation were primarily in fishing and farming. This refers to the occupations of the three male *issei* interviewed and to the occupations of the parents of the *nisei* interviewed (both male and female). Again, it was not clear to many *nisei* exactly what their parents had done since the *nisei* had been very young at the time, and their parents had apparently been engaged in a number of occupations. In addition



TABLE V  
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

PART A: LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT			
Japanese Canadians	Number of Persons	Per- centage	Canadian Average (male) Percentage
Post secondary (degrees completed)	23	34	9 "Some post secondary"
High school completed	35	51	47 "Some high school"
Below high school	10	15	44 "Elementary only"
Total	68	100	100

PART B: TYPES OF DEGREES COMPLETED BY JAPANESE CANADIANS	
Degree	Number*
Ph. D.	3
M. D.	2
M. Ed.	1
B. A.	3
B. Ed.	6
B. Comm., C. A.	1
B. Sc.	2
B. Arch.	1
B. Eng.	1
R. N.	3
Total	23

Source: Macdonald field interviews, 1969.

\*While four persons held more than one degree, only one, that relevant to present occupation, is recorded in this table.



to fishing and farming *nisei* said their parents worked at logging, milling, mining, road building, or were proprietors of small businesses (for example, restaurants, hotels).

Occupations in Edmonton now of course can be clearly stated (see Appendix C, page 107). Arranged in accordance with Blishen's occupational class scale,<sup>3</sup> Table VI shows the following picture:

TABLE VI  
OCCUPATIONS

Class	Number of Persons	Percentage	Canadian Average Percentage
1	6	15.9	2.0
2	17	41.6	14.3
3	9	22.5	9.6
4	3	7.5	7.0
5	3	7.5	7.0
6	1	2.5	24.4
7	1	2.5	8.7
Total	40	100.0	98.9

Source: Macdonald field interviews, 1969; Blishen, 1961, p. 479n.

The figure of forty who work includes thirty-one heads of households, plus six single persons, and three wives who work full-time. There are no family businesses. There are seven men in business for themselves.





Participation in voluntary associations. The religious background of most of the families interviewed was Buddhist. Tabulation of declared church affiliation is apt to be misleading: how does one classify responses like, "We were married in the United Church but do not belong now;" "We contribute but only some of the children attend;" "We used to attend." There is no Buddhist temple, but a Buddhist priest from Lethbridge comes to Edmonton monthly and visits in the homes of Buddhists. However, Table VII illustrates the wide variety of past or present affiliations declared by Japanese Canadian persons in Edmonton.

The recreation pattern reflects the family orientation. All or some of the family participate in skiing, skating, camping, bowling, golfing. As one of the *nisei* fathers remarked, "We are a close family." The most popular individual activities were gardening, curling, golf, and bowling. Others mentioned were: sewing, bridge, basket weaving, fencing, sports fishing, university courses, flower arranging, photography, preserving, knitting, woodworking, creative writing, and crafts. Most women are "too busy," but some curl and bowl.

Ten children took private music lessons and one took ballet. Other special children's activities mentioned by a few were art, electronics, models. Most popular are sports.

During the father's holidays almost without exception they travel as a family, visiting relatives, camping, picnicking. Those in professions attend their conventions. One family takes a ski holiday regularly.

All but seven families said they belong to the Japanese Community Club. Four of those interviewed hold executive positions in



TABLE VII  
RELIGIOUS DECLARATION

Description	No.	Percentage	Edmonton at large* Percentage	Canada at large* Percentage
Anglican	3	4.4	11.68	13.2
Buddhist	8	11.2	.04**	-
Lutheran	1	1.4	8.54	3.6
Mormon	1	1.4	.70	.3
Roman Catholic	3	4.4	22.86	45.7
United (includes United, Bissell United, Japanese United)	14	20.5	30.98	20.1
Other	3	4.4	25.20	17.1
No affiliation (positive)	9	13.2	-	-
No response (reluctant to declare)	26	39.1	-	-
Total	68	100.0	100.00	100.0

Sources: Macdonald field interviews, 1969; Census of Canada, 1961, 92-546.

\*The figures offered for comparison with Edmonton and Canada at large are based on answers to the Census question, "What is your religion?" and are, therefore, not strictly comparable. This research sought participation pattern.

\*\*Confucian and Buddhist.

this organization. All belong to the respective professional associations, namely: Royal Society, Canadian and American Medical Associations, - Alberta Teachers' Association, Canadian and Alberta Accountants' Associations, Engineering Institute of Canada, Canadian and American Architects' Associations, Registered Nurses of Canada, Nurses' Alumni, University Alumni Association, Civil Servants, Chamber of Commerce, and the respective unions.



Six families belong to a private family club. Three men are members of private service clubs. Six men are members of private golf clubs.

Two men and one woman were currently taking courses at the University of Alberta; two women were taking courses at the Y. W. C. A. and at Victoria Composite High School.

Two women donated their services to community concern groups (Cancer Society, Red Cross).

Few parents participated in community parents' clubs because, they explained, their children are too small yet. Three *nisei* fathers are very active in their local community leagues, coaching the boys' seasonal sports. Two parents have held executive positions in their local Home and School Associations.

All said they vote in the various elections, but only one said he is a member of a political party. None have held elected public office.

#### Values and attitudes expressed:

(a) in what they would like to be at retirement: Most expressed the desire for good health, financial security. Nine said that they "could not think that far ahead." Four expressed the desire for early retirement (before 65). Women generally were concerned to have their children secure: educated, married, and settled. Eight *nisei* expressed positively that they did not wish to retire; one said, "Maybe a second career in art." These men were in Blishen's Class 1 occupations. Most adults when pressed for response said they would travel; some said they would move to British Columbia or "do things without worrying about the children."



Each family is children-oriented. Without exception they all wanted job security for their children; therefore they were to receive proper university education or training ("need a degree nowadays."). Some said they did not want their children exposed to discrimination. Some said they wished their children to be independent and responsible.

Three expressed the desire to contribute to society at large beyond themselves--"to become a fuller person," "to have warm human relationships," "to be a good Canadian."

(b) from remarks on discrimination and prejudice. This data was volunteered. Most families claimed to have their own circle of friends including non-Japanese, and were not dependent on the Japanese Community Club. The children, too, seemed to have their own friends, mostly non-Japanese.

One man said there was discrimination in 1949 from the veterans with respect to jobs at Imperial Oil, but that that disappeared. Another man said, "We never have discrimination here." One lady who had been born and brought up in the Vancouver area and who had experienced evacuation said, "I have never felt any racial discrimination yet." One *nisei* brought up in British Columbia beyond the Defence Zone reflected, "We lived a normal life . . . we had a lot of fun."

Other comments on discrimination: "If a person is discriminated against, it's partly his own fault--any group that segregates itself--Ukrainians, French--They came to Canada to gain wealth--they should be quite humble about it and be proud of Canada. . . . They came broke and made a mint and now lack manners, and do not care about the development of Canada."







One eighteen year old girl commented: "At high school the Chinese students stick together. Not so the Japanese. We Japanese don't always get along together--we are all on our own."

Two *nisei* mothers said they thought being Japanese was an asset. One, born and educated in Summerland, British Columbia claims, "The community knows whose children they are and so they aren't lost." Another, born and educated in Alberta, stated, "Some people at church look at my children and say, 'Aren't they cute!'"

When asked whether they had any problems at work, most looked blank at this question. Those who did respond (*nisei* males) remarked: "It's dull," "The administration," "The usual," "None."

When asked whether they had any problems with their children, all but a few replied definitely, "None." These few turned out to refer to individual health problems (allergies, eyes, genius, refusing Japanese food).

(c) When asked about the "generation gap," most said they did not use the phrase, but they did recognize that the *issei*, *nisei*, and *sansei* were brought up "in different worlds." Most often cited was the barrier resulting from language differences; few *nisei* spoke or wrote Japanese and said their parents, especially mothers, had difficulty with English. Hence, there was limited communication between *issei* and *nisei*. Many *nisei* said that this barrier does not exist for them and their children.

It was specifically remarked by six *nisei*: "I am a Canadian. *Issei* interests are different from mine." But whether the *sansei* had different values, the *nisei* could not say. One young *nisei*,



herself a young mother born and educated in Alberta, volunteered:

"For instance, the business of arranged marriages--they are more common even now than is given out, although formal go-betweens are not used now."

Some parents said that the changes wrought by rapid technological advances in Canadian society during the last half century meant changes in job opportunities and the school system for the next generation.

(d) Negroes on T.V. Most had noticed this but few had reflected on it. Comments were therefore difficult to elicit, but some were:

"North American society is made up of more than Whites; hence it is more true to life to show them," "My children otherwise would not know what Negroes were," "It shows children there are races other than Yellow and White."

(e) Evacuation experience. Twelve persons interviewed had not experienced the evacuation, four coming to Canada in the 1950's, and eight persons coming from families which lived beyond the one hundred mile Defence Zone. This was over twenty-five years ago when the present *nisei* were infants or children.

It should be recalled, in order to understand the Japanese perspective on some of the issues, that no charge of sabotage, subversive activity, or disloyalty has been made against any of the Japanese. Even though a Canadian citizen, he has had to forego his occupation, sell his automobile, store his camera and radio, submit to having his chattels and property sold without his consent, and if he did not work, live on his savings up to fifty dollars, the amount held back for repatriation. Furthermore, he has understood that the federal government would like to have him move out of British Columbia never to return in the foreseeable future. In addition he has been expected to cooperate willingly with the policy of full employment and self-support.<sup>5</sup>



None of the *issei* and few *nisei* appeared to be bitter or hostile about the experience. There were two aspects to this question: (i) significance in Canadian terms: Few responded to this. Comments mostly from the men included: "It was justified as a wartime measure. They were fighting Japan." "It was caused by war hysteria--could happen in any country." "The evacuation afforded an opportunity to examine the concept of freedom versus national emergency and the conflict of values." "Canadians became aware of the Japanese." "The main fault lies in the vacuum of knowledge about the Japanese mind--Ottawa had no information on the Japanese at all." "It showed up weaknesses in the Canadian constitution." "It has not changed Canadian history but it has changed the Canadian Japanese." (ii) significance to the Japanese Canadians: Most said they realized the *issei* had suffered personally, financially and psychologically, and had been imperfectly compensated. "It was grim," said a *nisei*, in Edmonton over twenty years, now well established, and who discussed it freely. Most reflected that the *nisei* therefore suffered also, specifically because of interrupted education and loss of financial support at a crucial period of their careers. However, most expressed the attitude that dispersal forced the Japanese into relationships beyond their Japanese community more quickly than would have been otherwise: One married female *sansei* said, "I was fairly young when it happened. My father said moving the Japanese from the coast was good. They did not mix there." Another *nisei*, male, age thirty-six, evacuated at an early age and educated in Alberta, said, "It was a good thing in the long run--gave us more opportunity--otherwise I would be a fruit farmer or fisherman like my father . . . There are no hard feelings now among





the *nisei*." Other comments were, "The evacuation has lessened prejudice and discrimination against the Japanese," "It speeded up integration--the Japanese were forced to live in a white society." One *nisei*, age forty-one, while he had not experienced evacuation himself, having been born and brought up on the prairies, said, "Looking back, it is our responsibility to see that this does not happen again. The final result, while not planned, was immensely good for the Japanese people. They became spread out and the Canadian people became aware of the Japanese." His wife who had been evacuated while very young agreed. Another *nisei* father, who had been evacuated and who had been educated in Alberta, said, "I hope it gives my children an awareness of the importance of citizenship and voting."

Those who were already settled in Edmonton in 1942 said, "We could do nothing about it. We helped bring some Japanese here."

Some *nisei* expressed the thought that they considered themselves Canadian and their pride was hurt that this happened to them.

The four family heads who volunteered nothing constructive about the evacuation experience, spoke only of the injustice to the *issei*: "They lost everything," "Treated like cattle." Their wives did not disagree or qualify this.

(f) Knowledge of Japanese culture. *The New Canadian* and *The Continental*, Japanese-Canadian newspapers printed in Canada, were familiar to all interviewed (see *infra*, page 59). Five said they actually subscribed to *The New Canadian*, and one to *The Continental* ("for Mom," who lives in a house on adjoining property). Some said, "It's strictly for *issei*," "Too busy," "I skim through when I visit my





folks." Some get *The Vancouver Sun* for news of other Japanese Canadians. Two commented that magazines from Japan are "very Westernized."

English is spoken well by all but two *issei* females. All *issei* speak and write Japanese though two said they are losing facility in writing. Fifteen *nisei* said they speak and understand it; only six said they can write it. Three *sansei* speak and understand it; one *sansei* can write Japanese and one is learning to write it. The Japanese language is used in the home only by *issei*. *Nisei* say they speak Japanese "when we visit our parents," and "We try to speak it at home to our children but it's hopeless."

Nearly all said they had Japanese rice daily. A few said they served other Japanese foods sometimes but "it takes time to prepare. What we serve is improvised or Westernized." Many said they always have a feast at home at New Year's and serve Japanese food. Some hostesses serve Japanese dishes sometimes when they entertain occidental friends. Some said the children learn the Canada Food Rules at school and seem to enjoy a varied diet. Some mothers admitted that the smaller children are refusing Japanese foods.

Most said they had no connections with Japanese relatives in Japan. Ten said they correspond with Japanese relatives; others said, "Mother does." All were interested in their relatives in Canada. There was no evidence that money was being sent to Japan, as had been the case during the first decades of immigration.

Most said they were not especially interested in Japanese history or culture. Two sons of parents interviewed said that coming from a Japanese background it was always there and they were interested in finding out about other things. However, three parents



expressed interest in, respectively, Japanese flower arranging, records of Japanese music, and Japanese architecture. One said, "It's interesting to be Japanese." Another said with a grin, "Now we identify with a winner."

Three thoughtful *nisei* parents expressed the wish that Japanese language and culture courses were available for themselves and their children.

Most said they would like to attend Expo 70 but it cost money and also it would be too crowded this year and the prices would be high. Some said they would like to go and take the children. Two couples are planning to attend. Three said they had been to Japan in the last year or so. One said his relatives (not in Edmonton) were continuously in touch with Japanese relatives in person, flying there, but that he was not especially interested in Expo 70.

Table VIII summarizes the values expressed and underlying value orientations.

This is closely similar to the Canadian middle class ideal of individual achievement and responsibility in a society offering social and geographic mobility: hard work, skill, competence, and spontaneous informal social relationships based on mutual trust. On the other hand, the values inferred include contradictory orientations, for instance, individualism along with group orientation (harmony), formality along with spontaneity. This duality is characteristic of North Americans (with whom are included Canadians for the present purpose) according to C. Kluckhohn, 1958, and S. M. Lipset, 1961.



TABLE VIII  
VALUES AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Values Expressed (selected)	Value Orientations Inferred
security for self and for children, to be a good Canadian, coopera- tion and loyalty	group rather than individual (conformity, duty)
self fulfillment (do not wish to retire, travel)	individualism, achievement
education (for security)	individual or group; achieve- ment
"for our children"	future time; family-orientation
"warm human relationships"	equality; spontaneity
"manners" (conformity, obedience, harmony)	group or individual; formal relations
"the Japanese do not stick together"	individualism; conformity
arranged marriages are declining (mixed marriages)	individualism; equality
interest in negroes on T.V. (human interest, tolerance)	equality
the evacuation gave us oppor- tunity (looking at situation constructively)	security, harmony; achievement activity (pragmatism, flexibility)
lack of knowledge of Japanese culture (identity as Canadians, loyalty)	group, harmony; conformity

Reliability of data. There are relative degrees of reliability in the foregoing. Responses depended upon a number of factors, such as their actual knowledge of the past, their memory, their understanding



of the question, and rapport. Most reliable data were certain matters of fact such as age, residence, occupation, family structure, knowledge of Japanese language. It was difficult for them to be precise about years and loci of education because of the interruption due to evacuation. Least reliable were responses concerning family background, because the *nisei* had difficulty remembering what their parents had told them.

Responses with respect to participation in voluntary associations were difficult to categorize since many who said they were not actual members now, clearly considered this a high probability in the future.

Interpretations. The present exploratory study can only describe trends in Edmonton with respect to the categories investigated. These will perhaps gain significance when compared with similar studies on Japanese Canadians elsewhere, or when compared with results from a study on Canadian citizens generally. In the meantime, the following interpretations, often admittedly subjective, are offered.

Behavioural assimilation. There is no clustering effect. The nuclear family lives in residences scattered among most of the available private property areas recognized by real estate categories except slums. Their houses are not outstanding in their districts, being well kept like their neighbours'. Furnishings within the houses offered no surprises, being congruent with the type of house and, one could venture, with the occupations of the head of the family. There is one small exception to this statement, however: in every living







room, where the interviews were taken, there was some small artifact of Japanese traditional culture: a *kabuki* doll, a costume doll, a scroll, tea set, calendar, and the like. These were not conspicuously displayed and often had to be looked for.

Security seems to be a compelling motivation--witness such a high percentage of home ownership, stress on professions and training for job security.

Occupation and training seem to coincide. Perhaps there is a tendency to be over-qualified for a position: there are four with more than one university degree. This is interpreted as evidence of perseverance and of determination to broaden job qualifications, perhaps founded on latent fear of discrimination. It can be fairly said that their occupations and professions run the gamut of those available, with two qualifications: there are no lawyers, and the Japanese Canadians are over-represented in the higher classes and under-represented in the unskilled class.

The *sansei* of school age are participating with their non-Japanese peers with no apparent problems. If any generalization can be made, from comments volunteered by the students themselves and by their parents, it would be that at the present time the Japanese school children are outstanding in sports and better than average scholars. They appear to take no special interest in their Japanese background, and few understand or speak the Japanese language. Some *sansei* and some of their parents insist that they "are Canadians--go to the same schools, eat the same food, dress the same, speak the same language." A few parents volunteered that they had the same problems with their teenagers--"always those jeans," "that long hair."



All children are being encouraged to be well trained and most parents have university in mind.

With respect to the generation gap most *nisei* parents expressed the desire to avoid this lack of communication between generations such as they had experienced with their parents. Many said that thought there was greater difference between *issei* and *nisei* than between *nisei* and *sansei* due in part to actual language barrier. This can be interpreted as evidence of awareness on their part that assimilation is going on.

In sum, we can say that to a great extent Gordon's "cultural assimilation" has taken place.

Structural and other phases of assimilation. The Japanese Community Club is the only structural focus for a common meeting ground, and ties to this organization are lightly held even by the older *issie*, or not at all by the younger *nisei* and older *sansei*. These ties are social. There are the summer picnic and the Christmas party of adults and children, and two other adult functions a year, none of which are even attended by the whole membership.

Participation in the larger society is overwhelmingly through the schools and employment. All those who work are members of their respective professional or trade associations. Beyond this, the area of sports seems to offer most opportunities for mingling outside the family group--golf, bowling, and curling are most frequently mentioned. Women are not excluded, it seems, from any activities, but most of the women are "too busy at home." Most mothers of young children seem aware of the various parents' groups as part of our larger



society, and indicate they would be participating "when the children are older."

Participation in religious organizations can be described as rather low, but this is no indication of presence or absence of "religious feeling." It is remarkable that from such a small sample there are declared affiliations in such a wide range of the major denominations. Almost without exception they declared they came from Shinto or Buddhist backgrounds, yet there are no formal Shinto or Buddhist organizations in the city.

There is no civic participation yet, beyond voting, and only one *nisei* declared membership in a political party.

Individual choice for marriage rather than traditional family interests seems to be a guiding principle. There are three mixed marriages in thirty-one couples, and the fact that only one family had a parent living in the household is revealing. This suggests a loosening of family control generally.

The degrees of assimilation indicated by the foregoing evidence appear to be accompanied by some shifting in values and value orientations, namely: by means of the same values of hard work and manners the Japanese are achieving security in the changing Canadian society, while at the same time the focus of concern shifts from family to individual achievement.

#### Part B. Results From Second Interviewing of Thirteen Selected Respondents

Communication networks. Another index of a sense of community for any ethnic group is the effectiveness of a grapevine system. This



refers to a communication network along which information relevant to members is exchanged. According to the literature on the Japanese in America and from statements made by respondents in this study, there developed a system of rapid communication among the Japanese immigrants along the Pacific coast, even crossing the United States and Canada border. They lived in clustered communities, which made for relatively easy personal contact among them. There were the Japanese Consulate, Japanese language schools, and Japanese Community Clubs. These community clubs formed the backbone of the social organization of the early immigrant settlements, and functioned as did any such ethnic organization: as the medium for immigrant adjustment, affording means for social, economic, and psychological security in the new geographical and cultural setting, and for liaison with the core society. In addition, ethnic newspapers developed.

In Canada *The New Canadian* was established by Japanese Canadian initiative in 1938 in Vancouver. After evacuation it moved first to Kaslo, British Columbia, then to Winnipeg. It was at this time that it began publishing its Japanese language section when there seemed a greater need to express Japanese Canadian concerns, in particular the desire to vote in British Columbia.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently it moved its operations to Toronto, which is its present address. A second ethnic newspaper, *The Continental*, also originates in Toronto. The author of this research was not able to learn the history of this paper, but many Edmonton respondents were familiar with it; one subscribed to it for his mother who lives next door, and a few said their parents did.







Evacuation meant a break-up of the Japanese community's grapevine system, although only temporarily. The ethnic press played the important role as the central clearing house for information on persons; whereabouts and as the forum for discussion of Japanese concerns. In the more relaxed and prosperous atmosphere of the 1950's the opportunities arose again for face-to-face contacts and personal letters and visit.

What of the grapevine today in Edmonton? The first interviews revealed an overwhelming diffidence to both ethnic newspapers. Out of the thirty-one families and six single persons interviewed only five said they subscribed to it. Table IX indicates the use made of the Japanese newspaper.

TABLE IX  
READING OF JAPANESE NEWSPAPER

Response	Number*
yes	8
no	16
used to	4
a little	3
at my parents'	6
Total	37

Source: Macdonald field interviews, 1969.

\*Husband and wife are here regarded as one.



An analysis of a year's back issued for 1969 of *The New Canadian* revealed the themes dominant in the news and feature items, determined by the amount of space allotted,<sup>7</sup> as shown in Table X.

TABLE X  
THEME ANALYSIS OF *The New Canadian*

Category of manifest content	Percentage of total space
1. Japanese achievements	22
2. Japanese identity - "we are Americans, Canadians"	13 )
"but what of our Japanese heritage?"	2 )
3. News from Japan <sup>8</sup>	13
4. News about Canada	11
5. Sports	9
6. Japanese traditions, customs, history	7
7. News in the United States	7
8. The Japanese experience in America: early immigrants, evacuation, discrimination, and prejudice	4
9. Role of women	4
10. Common humanity	4
11. Other: for <i>issei</i> alone, John Lennon and Yoko, Quebec, animals	4
	100

Sources: *The New Canadian*, issues January 11, 1969 to July 22, 1969 inclusive, and December 23, 1969 to February 24, 1970.

Omitted from analysis were: paid advertisements, announcements of local events, appeals for funds, announcements of new regulations of general interest, announcements of births, marriages, deaths, although such items appeared.



Why would the Japanese in Edmonton not find this fare interesting? Reasons expressed for not subscribing or reading were: "too busy," "not interesting to us," "it is of interest really to the *issei*," "the news is out of date." The writer considered this negative finding significant, and decided to seek a second interview with a few respondents to check the initial disinterest expressed and to explore possible reasons.

Thirteen persons were interviewed a second time, focussing on their attitude toward *The New Canadian*. Of these only two families received it regularly. In one of these the respondent's parents subscribed to it and they shared the same household (this was the single case where parents lived with the nuclear family). At the risk of damaging rapport the researcher pressed the query as to why there was lack of interest in such a paper. Three of the thirteen said they enjoyed it when they did have time to read it, because it reminded them of a common past--"we *nisei* were all brought up by *issei*." Essentially, however, replies confirmed the picture revealed during the first interviews: that few actually read it, and those who did were mostly *issei*, who did so to learn of former friends' doings as might be reported in the paper.

In sum, for the *nisei* the ethnic newspapers are irrelevant to their Canadian way of life. They find their news, local and national or international, in the same channels as other Canadians: the local *Edmonton Journal*, radio and television, Canadian or American magazines. They have their own friends, including occidentals, and many belong to sports or various non-Japanese social groups. It can be inferred that their identity lies with the opinions expressed via these



media common to all Canadian society rather than with those expressed in the restricted ethnic press. Here is evidence for Gordon's identificational assimilation.

Further discussion on the Japanese Community Club is relevant. The original round of interviews revealed that this organization at present serves three functions for the Japanese in Edmonton: (i) as a social club, meeting twice yearly for "family" gatherings (Christmas party and summer picnic), and one or two other social events for adults; (ii) as a means for ordering Japanese rice--one of the members orders the rice and it is distributed from his house when it arrives (it will be recalled that most of those interviewed said they ate rice at least once daily); (iii) as a channel of communication, although this is not always fast or effective. These functions were confirmed during the second interviews, but doubts were expressed about its continuing usefulness by three persons, who were executive members of the Community Club. These doubts sprang from lack of response to appeals for membership dues, for new addresses, and for volunteers to help with its functioning. As with many volunteer organizations the work is done by the same few willing hands.

The Japanese Consulate in the early days formed a vital link between the Japanese communities and the larger society in its role in job placement; this of course has declined over the years. The Edmonton Consulate was established in 1967 to further economic interests between Japanese and Canadian firms. In addition to its regular duties it endeavours to maintain some contact with the Japanese Canadians already established in the city. For instance, when the Consulate puts on a Japanese cultural event (perhaps a movie







imported by the Consulate) or when the new Consul takes office, they inform the executive of the Japanese Community Club. This is all very fine, according to the researcher's informants, but there is one difficulty--often so little notice is given of a coming event that the executive of the Community Club, for lack of volunteers, cannot telephone or mail notices to the whole membership roster. Thus, it sometimes comes about that some members of the Community Club question why they were not informed of some coming event. With this qualification, then, the Japanese Consulate may be seen as part of the communication network.

With respect to the grapevine, this research reveals that it is in a state of transition. What is meant by "grapevine?" If we are considering a channel for instantaneous transmission of gossip about members' personal affairs, such does not exist. In the original interviews the researcher was repeatedly impressed with an apparent lack of knowledge about what any other Japanese in Edmonton was doing, and many expressed interest in seeing the report of this research to find out. It is the researcher's conclusion that such grapevine as exists has three partial and overlapping components: (i) membership in the Japanese Community Club, by virtue of which contact is made by telephone and by mailed announcements; (ii) membership in the Japanese Curling Club and in the Japanese Bowling Club (both these clubs include a substantial occidental membership); and (iii) a "second-remove" channel, namely, visits to relatives; that is, when a family from Edmonton visits relatives elsewhere, which is commonly done, their relatives share news gleaned from their own communication networks. In conclusion, there is a fading grapevine, but one certainly capable of revival, depending on future circumstances.



### Part C. Results from Japanese Image Survey

A questionnaire was completed by 103 university students in March 1970 to elicit their image of "Japanese." (see Appendix B, page 104). It was thought desirable to find out whether a heterogeneous group of students (mixed as to sex, number of years at university, and major emphasis of study) would reveal any consistently positive or negative image of "Japanese" to which the Japanese Canadians would have had to adapt or had even, themselves, created. To accomplish this, responses to two basic questions were sought: (i) Subjects were asked whether they had a definite image of Japanese in Japan and of Japanese Canadians, and if so, to offer a brief description. In addition, an open-ended question was asked to elicit their opinions on intermarriage and which offered them an opportunity to volunteer further remarks from which might be inferred a positive, negative, or neutral image. (ii) As a possible index of their awareness of the presence of Japanese, they were also asked to estimate the size of the Japanese population--in Edmonton, in Alberta, in Canada. Questions regarding number of years of university completed, their major academic interest (social sciences, humanities, natural sciences, education, other) whether their lives had been spent in largely metropolitan or smaller communities, whether they had personal acquaintance with Japanese or whether their image derived from mass media, were asked to see if these variables revealed any relationships to their images. Yet another open-ended question: "What do you think a person saying 'the Japanese are inscrutable' would probably mean?" afforded subjects opportunity to volunteer further remarks which might yield clues to their image.



The judgment of a total set of responses as "positive," "neutral," or "negative" was inevitably subjective. "Positive" was assigned to a set of responses which included adjectives such as "average Canadian," "clean," "happy," "easy-going," "polite," "well-mannered," "gentle." "Positive" was assigned, also, if the responses expressed approval of or tolerance of intermarriage. A set of responses which contained the blanket statement, "I can see no discriminatory practices in Canada," was also assigned "positive."

"Negative" was the judgment on a set of responses which included adjectives like: "ultra polite," "meek," "uncomfortably polite," "not too much deviance from the ones in Japan--strong parental control--children here have more freedom," "crowd followers," "intelligent on par with average educational student." Obviously none of these connote passionate dislike.

"Neutral" was the judgment if the combined answers in a set of responses revealed an awareness of the complexity of personal relationships, especially those between persons from different cultures. Usually this more sophisticated awareness was combined with stated hesitancy about making any judgment. In this category were a preponderance of "no" and "I don't know" responses to the question, "Have you a definite image of Japanese?" or remarks like "I don't think it matters to other Canadians."

Out of the 103 sets of responses there were fifty-three positive, forty-seven neutral, and only three slightly negative. The average number of years at university completed was two. Sixty-three said they have or had at least one Japanese as a personal





friend. The rest, presumably, based their image exclusively on information via the mass media, or on casual contacts with Japanese.

With respect to the students' estimate of how many Japanese there are, about fifty-five per cent tended to over-estimate the number of Japanese in both the city of Edmonton and in the province of Alberta, while about fifty-eight per cent were correct in their estimate of the total number in Canada. The estimates are shown in Table XI.

TABLE XI  
ESTIMATES OF JAPANESE POPULATIONS

	Edmonton	Alberta	Canada
Under-estimates	19	8	42
Correct	26	34	59
Over-estimates	57	60	1
	<hr/> 102*	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 102
<hr/> Source: Macdonald survey, university students from three classes, March, 1970. *One person did not give any estimate. <hr/>			

In other words, a slight majority overestimated the Edmonton and Alberta populations.

The question, what do you think a person means if he says the Japanese are inscrutable? yielded most often the response that he means that the Japanese are difficult for Canadians to understand. The author concludes that this question did not yield any supportive evidence for the images already volunteered.





There were no correlations between responses to the two basic questions and other variables offered (number of years of university completed, et cetera). It would be unwise to conclude that these variables had no bearing at all on the responses, but only that this questionnaire did not reveal any significant correlations.

Since there were no significant differences in responses correlated with years of university completed, it is reasonable to assume that such a survey carried out on a random sample of the population of Edmonton would yield appreciably similar results, namely: over half would hold positive images and the rest neutral images of "Japanese" in Canada.

The responses reveal that the students did not distinguish Japanese in Japan from Japanese in Canada. Most frequent remark about Japan was that it is changing; this constituted 14.9 per cent of the responses. The most frequent remark about the Japanese Canadians was that they are "well integrated;" this was stated by twenty per cent of the responses. Table XII shows the next most frequently repeated adjectives. The information in this table suggests clearly the shift in dominant value orientations from family orientation towards individualism, from formal relationships towards spontaneous, friendly relationships, and from present to future time orientation.

If it be assumed that the orientation patterns of the *issei* themselves and of their descendants, the *nisei*, and to an even greater extent of their children, the *sansei*, have undergone modifications in adapting to changed circumstances, the above image, representing the impressions the Japanese have created in the minds of non-Japanese, may be fairly considered as evidence.



TABLE XII  
ADJECTIVES IN IMAGES OF NON-JAPANESE

Japanese Japanese			Canadian Japanese		
Adjective	%	Inferred value	Adjective	%	Inferred value
conservative	12.9	present time	hardworking	15.8	activity, achievement
hardworking	11.7	activity	mannerly	13.2	harmony
mannerly	10.9	harmony	friendly	11.1	informal, spontaneous
family-oriented	6.6	group rather than individual	ingenious	8.4	future time, individual
			ambitious		
			independent		
			individualistic		

Sources: Macdonald Image Survey to 103 university students, March, 1970.

The adjectives *volunteered*, furthermore, may be taken as evidence of positive regard for the Japanese, or at least, neutral, in the minds of representatives members of the core society, and also as characteristics considered desirable by Canadians.

The wide variety of responses, in addition to the above most frequently appearing, strongly suggests a fleeting quality of the image and that the Japanese are not stereotyped in Edmonton.

Thus it is reasonable to conclude that the Japanese in Edmonton are not regarded as social or economic rivals by members of the host society. They occupy an ethnically favourable or neutral position vis-a-vis the majority society. Discrimination and prejudice, when and if they occur, are particular instances and not a general rule.



Part D. Popularization of Things Japanese in the Larger Edmonton  
Community in 1969-70

Stimulated by television documentaries on Japan the last two or three years and increasing frequency of news items in the local press about Canada-Japan or Alberta-Japan trade, various cultural activities in Edmonton have been organized around a Japanese theme. These have been initiated not by Japanese Canadians but by members of the Edmonton society at large.

As an example, the 1970 Junior Arts Festival, sponsored by the Junior Arts Council of Edmonton, was formally opened by the Japanese Consul. This was a one-day display on the premises of the new Edmonton Art Gallery. There were demonstrations of traditional Japanese arts and crafts such as *ikebana* (flower arranging), *origami* (paper folding), a display of Japanese dolls, and a film on Japanese puppets. Among the organizers of this project was a *nisei* lady who teaches a course on Japanese cooking at the local Northern Institute of Technology.<sup>9</sup>

There is a local Ikebana Chapter in Edmonton, initiated by the former Japanese Consul and co-sponsored by the local Women's Society of the Edmonton Art Gallery. Ikebana chapters limit membership to thirty ladies, as in Japan and the United States (including Hawaii), and new members are drawn from friends of members. Membership is not limited to non-Japanese. In fact, the Edmonton Chapter is comprised primarily of Caucasian ladies. (At least four of the ladies interviewed in the course of this research belong, including two *issei* females.)





In addition, over the past three years, as might be expected, students at all levels in the public school system have chosen Japanese themes for projects.

#### Part E. Summary of Results

We have discovered from the foregoing research that the Japanese Canadians who have lived in the city of Edmonton since at least before 1960 do not constitute a group, geographically or socially or economically. On the contrary they are demonstrating Gordon's ethclass stratification in their participation in the city's occupational, social, and recreational structures. In addition they identify themselves first as "Canadians" in a heterogeneous society.

The grandparents of the present *sansei* came to Canada largely from rural backgrounds, most not knowing the host language, seized the opportunities for economic improvement in the many unskilled jobs available, and saved and sacrificed for their children. The *nisei*, despite the difficulties of interrupted education and loss of parental financial support due to the war and evacuation, likewise seized the opportunities available to secure or improve their situation. The present *sansei*'s favourable situation attests to the success of these efforts.

How can this achievement be accounted for? Significant factors may be distinguished as (1) factors external to the Japanese, and (2) factors inherent in the Japanese, which include the values which the immigrants held and which, presumably, were inculcated into the *nisei* generation.





Footnotes to Chapter IV

1. The national average number of children per household, urban, is 1.9; for Edmonton, 1.8. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961.
2. These percentages of average Canadian male, as given in Porter, 1965, p. 156, are not strictly comparable. No correlation of academic achievement and ethnicity has been found in the 1961 Census, *Canada Year Book*, or Porter, 1965, or Blishen *et al*, 1968. These figures are the closest relevant, and refer to "some post secondary schooling, and "some high school." Porter clearly indicates that Jewish and Asiatics in Canadian society show highest academic achievement, which is in line with traditional rabbinical and Confucian respect for education *per se*. In an immigrant situation, this same respect for education is reinforced by economic and social factors.
3. Blishen's occupational class scale was worked out from 1951 Census figures using income and years of school; it is given in Bernard Blishen (ed.), 1961 edition.
4. Blishen, Bernard (ed.), 1961, p. 479.
5. La Violette, 1948, p. 142.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
7. Since *The New Canadian* prints about half its text in English and half in Japanese, an attempt was made to find out on what principles this was decided. A letter was written to the editors of the newspaper in Toronto, in March, 1970, but no reply was received.
8. *The New Canadian* has correspondents in the United States and Tokyo, as well as in Canada; hence many news items appear from American and Japanese newspapers.
9. This lady was among those interviewed in the course of this project.



## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

We can reasonably hope to raise to its maximum the probability of discovering the real causes and relations of things . . . when we are accurate in observing facts, cautious in generalizing from them, fertile in inventing hypotheses, ingenious and impartial in testing their validity, skillful in securing their confirmation or revision, and judicious in formulating ultimate interpretations.

- Douglas Johnson

In our attempt to discover relations we shall consider the changes in the Canadian situation and likely changes in the perceptions of both the Japanese Canadians and Canadians. This chapter will discuss these and will present, finally, the limitations of this particular piece of research.

First of all the inferred goals of the emigrants and attitudes of the receiving society must be borne in mind. Most Japanese emigrated intending to improve their economic and social position abroad, and planned to return to Japan. Needless to say these persons were Japan-oriented. Immigrants continued to come to Canada until the 1924 restriction. There were no barriers to returning to Japan, except during the wars. But over the passage of time, the Japanese overwhelmingly chose to remain in Canada.

Obstacles to be overcome in the new country were only to be expected. The job opportunities represented the two sets of economic needs: on the one hand, those of the immigrants to earn money for security; and on the other, those of the core society, as represented by government and private interests, for reliable and cheap labour on



railways and roads and in the lumbering, mining, and fishing ventures, vital aspects of the expanding industrial economy. In a relatively short time, there being no restrictions to purchasing property in British Columbia,<sup>1</sup> many purchased land or bought small shops or fishing equipment, and sent back to Japan for wives or brides.

The goals became over time less Japan-oriented. Positive Canadian orientation emerged sharply after Pearl Harbour for those who remained despite the evacuation experience. The prime goal now became security in Canada. This was to be achieved by education and training in the public school system, and attendance there became compulsory after 1942 in British Columbia.

The shortage of labour during the war years and subsequently in the expanding prosperity of the 1950's and 1960's created job opportunities for all categories of labour, professional to unskilled. The *nisei* and the few older *sansei* have made the most of this situation wherever they have settled. Job opportunities were such that some geographic mobility has been possible, of which advantage was indeed taken; witness the number who came to Edmonton.

Edmonton is claimed by some enthusiasts to be "the fastest-expanding city in Canada" and indeed its population has more than trebled in the last twenty-five years. Its heterogeneous population is constituted of many ethnic groups. It is the metropolitan and transportation centre for the province, and offers a variety of services and secondary industries. As such, no one can deny that its job opportunities, within the larger framework of an expanding Canadian economy, are many and varied. This open situation offers opportunity and choice to trained and skilled personnel, of which the



Japanese Canadians take a fair share. It cannot be claimed that they play any special role in the economy; they are represented in most occupations, although rather under-represented in the unskilled categories.

The evacuation experience brought the presence of Japanese in Canada to the attention of Canadians outside British Columbia, but mainly in the localities where they resettled. The post-war prosperity and concern with other issues soon left the presence of Japanese in Canada a local matter. Relative numbers, it is here claimed, constitutes a vital factor in acceptance and rejection of members on the part of both the ethnic group and the core society. In Edmonton the Canadians of Japanese ancestry constitute an almost invisible proportion (.2 per cent) of the population. In the Canadian population as a whole they constitute even less (.16 per cent). With the exception of the British Columbia coastal residents, many Canadians prior to Pearl Harbour were barely aware of the presence of Japanese in Canada. Even in the 1960's, it is the author's opinion that many Canadians remain unaware of the presence of Japanese Canadians. The fact that in the Image Survey of this research over half of the respondents over-estimated the numbers of Japanese in Edmonton and in Alberta does not necessarily reflect a preponderance of Japanese in the minds of the non-Japanese; the fact they were being asked specifically about Japanese may have suggested the existence of larger numbers. Their responses, too, may have been suggested by the increased information about Japanese in Japan via the mass media since the middle 1960's.







In the present international framework Japan is favourably presented in increased trade and cultural contacts, well publicized by public relations personnel via the media. Thus, a favourable image of Japan and things Japanese is developing, it is assumed, in the minds of more Canadians. The fact that Japan, too, is sponsoring a famous Expo reinforces these favourable connotations in the new Japanese image. The halo effect from this circumstance, working with the facts of relatively few well dispersed Japanese in Canadian society, the lack of economic strife, and the pervasiveness of the equality ideal, combine to shape these new images and attitudes.

Not only are the respective images of Japanese in the minds of Canadians changing, but so also are the structures of Canadian society and of the Japanese "community." An expanding urban industrial society offers not only more job opportunities but also more voluntary associations. Simultaneously at work is the emergence of the ethclass phenomenon, with concomitant inferred shift in identification to the class stratifications of the core society. This is inferred from the evidence of this research: (1) Japanese Canadian membership in the respective occupational and professional associations, and participation in voluntary associations, (2) the seeming emulation of the middle-class holiday and general life styles, and (3) wives working--in this study twenty-one per cent of *nisei* wives stated they worked regularly.

From the foregoing we may say that factors external to the Japanese themselves favoured the development of neutral or favourable images of Japanese in the minds of Canadians, which facilitated the Japanese adaptation. These factors are: the democratic ideal of



legal equality and religious tolerance for all Canadian citizens, the public school system, lack of economic strife, availability of many voluntary associations, and the influence of the mass media, especially the recent favourable portrait of Japan. Now let us examine more closely factors inherent in the Japanese.

Authorities agree on traditional Japanese values.<sup>2</sup> The *issei* who came to Canada grew up in a Japan which, while the government was straining to industrialize, was still predominantly agricultural and conservative. A great population pressed upon the limited arable land with limited resources. Social organization was patriarchal familism with primogeniture. Agriculture was extremely small scale; individual families worked tiny plots. Cooperation was required from all members of a family and from each family in the community both for the irrigation system and for the buraku administrative system. In such difficult subsistence conditions value was placed on conformity and obedience to the head of the household and to any other representative of the Emperor, hard work and conscientiousness, supreme craftsmanship, respect for education leading to practical application, frugality, elaborate etiquette and formality in man-to-man relationships. The over-arching framework for these Confucian virtues was loyalty and duty to the Emperor, the symbol of Japan and of the ancestors. In a sense this may be considered their religion. It pervaded all aspects of their lives, the head of the household representing the Emperor at the family level. Organized religions were tolerated insofar as they offered no threat to the status quo.

These behavioural manifestations spring from dominant value orientations of harmony with nature, being-in-becoming activity



(achievement) rather than passivity, hierarchical interpersonal relationships, and collaterality or lineality rather than individualism.<sup>3</sup> There was little individual spontaneity or initiative to deal with new situations; in fact, there were few new situations.

On the other hand, the Japanese have a history of tackling new ideas with enthusiasm. In the seventh century the Chinese civilization was embraced and molded over the succeeding centuries into their own culture. In the late nineteenth century Western civilization, especially its technological aspects, was similarly followed as a means to achieve Japanese security and independence among the world powers. This does not negate the claim that the Japanese had or have no initiative. All societies have an "elite" which makes decisions, takes initiative, and set examples, and Japan is no exception. It was the Japanese court nobles and *samurai* who showed spontaneity in the vigorous takeover of Chinese and Western ideas, and the obedient masses adapted to their policy. By means of the public school education system from the 1870's on, these portions of Japanese history and the virtues they illustrated could become part of the "public" image<sup>4</sup> for all Japanese. The *issei* were from this educational system and it can be argued that constructive attack on new situations might well be a model for *issei* in their new lands and in the evacuation situation. It can also be argued that this represents continuity of underlying value orientations: present activity for achievement for the sake of never-ending duty.<sup>5</sup> Thus, apparently diverse behaviour may stem from the same underlying value orientation.

These dominant value orientations stood the immigrant Japanese well in their situation in a new culture. They worked hard. They





worked for themselves, for their families, for the Emperor, and for an idealized Japanese culture, for they were still Japan-oriented, even those who became naturalized citizens, since most of these did so in order to receive fishing licenses.<sup>6</sup> Japan, expanding politically, culturally, and economically during the first three decades of this century, probably constituted in their minds the repository of all values. They prospered and became ambivalent in their loyalty. After the shock of Pearl Harbour and the defeat of Japan it would require no great effort, the writer believes, to switch supreme allegiance from the discredited Japan to the Canadian government and its representatives. The Emperor's personal appeal to surrender quietly and to cooperate with the Allies may have strengthened the Canadian Japanese loyalty to Canada, since this might be construed as "Be loyal to Canada for the Emperor's sake."

The *nisei* were socialized on the one hand by parents with traditional Japanese values and, on the other hand, by experiences in both Japanese language schools and the public school system. The Japanese language school system was organized by Japanese immigrant initiative, as a substitute for the British Columbia public school system, to fill various needs<sup>7</sup>--sentiments for Japanese culture, need for communication with their children, traditional respect for education, and other Japanese values. The public school system, particularly in large cities like Edmonton, affords means to many ends. Here the *nisei*, and to a greater extent the *sansei*, may receive occupational skills as well as the socializing experience common to all Canadian children. From these experiences they store up memories, some of which contribute to the construction of their





own, as opposed to their parents', identification. Democratic, individualistic, competitive ideals are presented in a variety of ways. In addition, models are presented of behaviour for situations unknown to the parents.<sup>8</sup> For parents, too, having children in the public school system affords additional links with the core society.<sup>9</sup>

Mass media models and ideals, "good" or "bad," impinge upon the Japanese Canadians no less than on all members of the core society. All homes interviewed had television; and, as aforesaid, the Japanese language papers are of declining influence. The mass media are helping to shape the new image of Japan too, for Japanese Canadians no less than for all Canadians.

Religious attitudes of the Japanese Canadians in Edmonton can in a sense be said to be tolerant and therefore to play a neutral role in the assimilation process. It is the author's opinion, as stated previously, that affiliation is potential rather than evident. "Religious feeling" and "religious affiliation" are obscure categories, to be sure. Declared affiliation is objective, but should be questioned for its significance. Relevant here is consideration of the traditional values of harmony and religious tolerance, which were not expressed through a religious institution so much as they permeated all aspects of life. It was the household *busudan* and *kamidan*<sup>10</sup> which were the focus of family religious ritual in their concern with family ancestors, rather than public ceremony. The point is that in traditional Japan religious sentiments were not organized after Western fashion; active participation in "churches" was not part of the Japanese way of life which the *issei* brought with them. This notion was introduced by Anglican and United Church



missions to the Japanese community in the early decades of this century in their attempt to bridge the cultural gap, mostly with English classes.<sup>11</sup> The diffidence expressed by respondents in this research, as well as the variety of declared affiliations, are not interpreted here as absence of "religious feelings," but rather as continuity of the traditional attitude of tolerance. Such affiliation as was declared is yet another avenue of participation in the larger society.<sup>12</sup> On the whole, however, religious attitudes and affiliations cannot be said to operate for or against the assimilation process here in Edmonton.

The legal status of Japanese Canadians as full Canadian citizens also promotes the sense of Canadian peoplehood. Japanese Canadians thus may vote and hold property. Those in Edmonton do so. Property rights orient people towards values basic to their survival as a society, co-ordinating both social and economic organization.<sup>13</sup> The private property system of the core society orients members towards individual effort and mobility, both requisite in a capitalistic heterogeneous urban industrial society, and these are developed by means of the public school system. The Japanese Canadians are socialized in this system. Property-holding is consonant, too, with the traditional Japanese value of land-holding as an index of status.

Continuing values, as found in the interviews with Japanese Canadians, and in the Japanese Image Survey are: politeness, hard work, achievement, education, loyalty, conformity.<sup>14</sup> Conformity is an ambiguous concept. While in North America it is commonly construed to connote passivity, this is not necessarily so. It can also mean "willingness to be instructed"--a positive virtue.<sup>15</sup> Conformity



may actually be a step toward more genuine individuality . . . . If one accepts outwardly the conventions of one's group, one may have greater psychic energy to develop and fulfill one's private potentialities as a unique person.<sup>16</sup>

This could well account for the "success" of the Japanese anywhere. Here we have the "same" outward behaviour springing, perhaps, from either of two different underlying value orientations.

In addition to values, the evacuation experience must not be discounted as a factor promoting assimilation. In addition to its shock value as a catalyst preparing the Japanese outlook for change, it increased the determination of both *issei* and *nisei* to succeed within the Canadian system and in accordance with their traditional values. Witness some of the comments from the Japanese: "It forced the Japanese out of their little communities," "We do not want our children to have such an experience."

Thus, we can understand, using both Gordon's and Kluckhohn's hypotheses, how the *issei* could quickly take on the new superficial attributes of Canadian society (language, dress, occupations) without really severely altering their basic values, and how the *nisei* found their parents' values of adaptive value in their changed situation.<sup>17</sup> In short, the underlying value orientations of the *issei* and *nisei* were compatible with the demands of the changing Canadian society.

This research has found evidence of changed behaviour patterns and infers at least some shifting of underlying dominant value orientations. In general the trend is from rural authoritarian values to those compatible with an industrial urban society, namely: individual initiative, achievement, and responsibility rather than concern





with the family, and spontaneity rather than formal relationships because there are many new situations. It is the judicious interpretation of this research that the Japanese Canadians in Edmonton are proceeding without serious frustrations along the assimilation paradigm set out by Gordon. Table XIII summarizes the factors contributing to the process.

TABLE XIII  
FACTORS PROMOTING ASSIMILATION

Features of the Japanese	Features of Canadian society
values of hard work, frugality, loyalty, conformity, group responsibility and achievement, now tending towards individualism and spontaneity	democratic ideal of legal and religious tolerance
religious tolerance	open economy--lack of economic strife--expanding urban industrial society
constructive reaction to evacuation, high standards of achievement	public school system (the strategic feature of an industrial society, where the virtues of hard work, loyalty, individual initiative, achievement, responsibility and competition are extolled)
small numbers relative to host society, and dispersed	presence of many voluntary associations (by-product of specialization and leisure afforded by urban industrial society)

#### Limitations of this Study

Three problems connected with this study are here discussed.

(1) Sampling, discussed on page 34, constitutes an unresolved but





minor problem. To the question, "Are there any other Japanese in your neighbourhood?" it was found that each of the few mentioned was already on the researcher's list of interviewees. This fact reassures the researcher that the sampling did, in fact, touch almost all the Japanese who had lived in Edmonton prior to 1960, and who are still here.

(2) This researcher agrees with Gordon's claim that participation is a valid index of assimilation. The difficulty, however, is: How do we measure participation? Gordon is not helpful. A study was done by Rothrock, 1968, on participation in voluntary associations by Americans. He claims that sixty per cent of the total urban adult population join voluntary associations, exclusive of churches. Urban men join more frequently than women. Membership increases significantly with increase in education and occupational levels.<sup>18</sup> There does not appear to be a similar recent study on Canadians. However, it is not Rothrock's figure which is significant to this study but the pattern. In this Edmonton study men indeed did more joining than women, and membership did appear to increase with increase in education and occupational levels. But how can declared participation be a measure of attitude towards participation? Many mothers appeared to be willing to participate "when the children are older." Some men and some women declared that they "used to belong" to something. It is claimed by this researcher that worrying this point is beside the main issue: in this sample most men and women held positive attitudes towards participating in associations in the wider community, and most in fact were members or potential members of something.



(3) Formulating the ideal Canadian stereotype is difficult. What is the image in the minds of the Japanese Canadians to which they aspire? Many of those interviewed declared that they and their children are "Canadians." It is not unreasonable to infer that they aspire towards the same goals as "other Canadians," that they approve of "things Canadian" for themselves, and that they seek a Canadian identity.

John Porter, 1965, discusses "the widespread social image of middleclassness." He states it is difficult to formulate a Canadian stereotype due to lack of census data, but he ventures to describe what he calls "the Canadian standard package" which he deduces from statistics.<sup>19</sup> This includes two aspects, (a) consumable goods (the automobile, the suburban house in which the resident has some equity, and gadgets of all sorts), and (b) "perquisites of class" which essentially refer to health and cultural opportunities.

Porter's two aspects are strongly materialistic, and he intends a structural description. Studies on American national character, to which we can in this context equate Canadian, stress the continuity of two contradictory themes: materialism (unending striving for security, goods, comfort, stress on technology, faith in science) and idealism (democratic equality, self-reliance, individual fulfillment, compassion).<sup>20</sup> While national character descriptions do not necessarily coincide with self-image, the Canadian national stereotype to which all Canadians aspire, implicit in the foregoing sections, should include both these themes. The striving for materialistic achievement may be interpreted as means towards fulfillment of one's private potentialities, ignored by Porter.<sup>21</sup> And this may be regarded



as a modified value orientation of the traditional Japanese value of personal achievement in the service of some "highest value"--the Japanese *ōn*.<sup>22</sup> This researcher claims that such a deep value orientation would not disappear from *issei* to *nisei* images even with their difficult experiences.

It would be reasonable to choose as "the most assimilated" family the one where the father is a member of the elite of his profession, a member of all possible connected professional associations, and a declared member of a political party. His non-Japanese wife, also a professional, is an active member and executive in various professional associations, child-parent and city-wide expressive groups. Would it be reasonable also to consider this family as the ideal stereotype to which all Japanese Canadians, and even "other Canadians," implicitly or explicitly, aspire? Is this the marginal family, participating in many cultural and recreational networks?

#### Footnotes to Chapter V

1. Kawakami, K. K., 1941.
2. Authorities on Japanese values include Ruth Benedict, 1946; George De Vos, 1954; G. Gorer, 1949; Douglas Haring, 1956; Caudill and Scarr, 1962; Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, 1961.
3. Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, 1961, p. 30.
4. In Boulding's sense, 1956.
5. That is, the concept of *ōn* discussed by Benedict, 1946.
6. Fishing licenses were issued by the British Columbia government to Canadian citizens only. Many Japanese, thus, took out citizenship in order to receive fishing licenses. See La Violette, F. E., pp. 17-20.
7. Kawakami, K. K., 1941.





8. Loftin, 1951, in the study on the Japanese in Brazil claims that the public school system there "through the opportunities it has offered the Brazilian-born Japanese for contact with Brazilian urban civilization, has been the most effective agency in the country for assimilating these elements into Brazilian society," p. 322.
9. This is also the opinion of W. G. Smith, 1939, p. 152.
10. In Tokogawa homes *butsudan* is the shelf for the Buddha; *kamidān* is the shelf for special Shinto deities.
11. Carrington, Philip, 1963, pp. 249-250.
12. It should be noted that Buddhist priests and temples are part of an international network. Priests are ordained in Tokyo and posted by Buddhist authorities there to "parishes" in the United States and Canada. Edmonton Buddhists, with no temple nor resident priest, can hardly be considered part of this international network at this time.
13. Hallowell, 1955.
14. Clyde Kluckhohn says of the Japanese Americans that they "ordinarily exhibit an allegiance to middle-class conformity, hard work, striving for 'success' that is exaggerated to the point of caricature," in E. E. Morison, 1958, p. 146.
15. E. O. Reischauer, 1950.
16. C. Kluckhohn in E. E. Morison, 1958, p. 187. S. M. Lipset voices the same opinion: "As status-seeking is the by-product of strong equalitarianism, so conformity and other-directedness may permit or even demand, inner autonomy," Lipset and Lowenthal, 1961, p. 171.
17. Other writers have held essentially similar views: R. Bellah, 1957, considers the bushido ethic of duty, loyalty, hard work, asceticism, striving for excellent, to be analagous to the Protestant ethic, and was a factor in the rapid response of the Japanese people to their government's industrialization policy. Nishi's study, 1963, on the Japanese achievement in Chicago holds that the value system of the immigrant Japanese was compatible with that of middle-class American culture, and gave rise to similar psychological adaptive mechanisms in *issei* and *nisei*. Horinouchi's study, 1967, holds that the bushido code of the *issei* transmitted via family life and Japanese language schools to the *nisei* (hard work, mental discipline, determination to overcome all obstacles even discrimination) parallels that of the Protestant ethic.
18. Rothrock, K., 1968.





19. Porter, John, 1965, p. 125.
20. S. M. Lipset synthesizes the thinking on this topic to date in his article, "A Changing American Character?" which appears in no less than three books: Lipset and Lowenthal, 1961; McGiffert, 1964; and Rapson, 1967. Most recent opinions holds that these two apparently contradictory orientations are the outcome of the same social processes: cumulative technological and economic "progress" towards material abundance and increased freedom of choice.
21. Thus, "striving for achievement" may also be ambiguous, as in the case of "conformity."
22. *On*, the never-ending duty in the service of the temporal and spiritual symbol of Japan, the Emperor. See Benedict, 1946.



## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS

Everything has tended to regenerate them; new laws, a new mode of living, a new social system; here they are become men: in (the homeland) they were as so many useless plants, wanting vegetative mould, and refreshing showers; they withered, and were mowed down by want, hunger, and war; but not by the power of transplantation, like all other plants they have taken root and flourished.

- Crevecoeur, 1782

Cynics may dismiss Crevecoeur's words as so much bucolic romanticism, yet the words "to flourish" express the hope of most Canadian immigrants as well as second and yet further generation citizens. The 1970's sees us facing the fact of ethnic differences and searching for constructive attitudes, this study being a small example.

Despite its limitations it was worthwhile. From the point of view of the history of Japanese people it features a small section of the story of Japanese emigration, specifically to Canada. It supplements the story of Japanese emigration to Hawaii, to Brazil, to Paraguay, and to the United States.

It responds to the excellence of Professor La Violette's work, and endeavours to give a picture of the Japanese Canadian achievement in Edmonton as of 1970. Professor La Violette listed the evidence of inassimilability of the Japanese cited in the 1940's in anti-Japanese speeches, namely, poor standard of living, continuance of Japanese language schools, Japanese language newspapers, the speaking of Japanese in the homes, the self-sufficiency of their communities, the Buddhist temples, and the low rate of inter-marriage. None of these evidences apply now in Edmonton. The Japanese Canadians with their



old and new value orientations are flourishing. They are enmeshed with and contributing to the changing Canadian way of life, with no forces discernible to withstand the processes. There are no barriers, legal or social, to entry into non-Japanese groups with whom they share common values and from which they derive meaningful intentions. They can hardly be said to constitute a group. There is some inter-marriage. No marginal creativeness came to light; however, innovation or leadership may come in time from this source.

The question was raised in the preface to Professor La Violette's book: How should society deal with possible intolerant local minorities which say they are likely to resort to violence if they are not allowed to exclude from their occupations or their neighbourhood a group which they dislike? This has not been answered. At this writing the question is academic. But it is the interpretation of this research that the Japanese Canadians, by their adaptation and specifically by not constituting a group, as this study has indicated, have greatly lowered the possibilities of the question being raised with respect to them or their children.

The following questions arise from this research: What has been the Japanese experience in other parts of Canada, for instance, in southern Alberta, where the Japanese constitute a larger proportion of the population and where many are engaged in farming;<sup>1</sup> or in Montreal, where they constitute an even smaller proportion of the population than in Edmonton and where there is a bilingual and bi-cultural crises? How have traditional value orientations become modified, how have they promoted or deterred the assimilative processes there?



As set forth in the theoretical chapter of this study, any ethnic group is but a part of the larger system. Interpretations of its history and position at any one time must be made in full awareness of processes in the larger system. Porter's picture of Canadian society as a mosaic ignores the continuous process of change. The imaginative reader may ask, where are we going. The social scientist can be especially sensitive to long range goals. Gordon avoids value judgments as to the desirability of total assimilation. The main thrust of his book is an effort to understand the human condition as it appears relevant in the relationships between ethnic groups with an implicit appeal for improvement. Surely, he says, reflecting a popular, value-charged ideal for Canadians, if not Americans, the long-range goal for all

is fluidity and moderation within the context of equal civil rights for all, regardless of race, religion, or national background, and the option of democratic free choice for both groups and individuals. Ethnic communality will not disappear in the foreseeable future and its legitimacy and rationale should be recognized and respected. By the same token, the bonds that bind human beings together across the lines of ethnicity and the pathways on which people of diverse ethnic origin meet and mingle should be cherished and strengthened.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion the author hopes this exploratory paper has opened a window on the world for the reader with the concomitant revision of his images of all Canadians:

In this revision, all the images and experiences of the past have some part. They are not effaced but are absorbed and rearranged in some new design . . . All the old and new images flicker around us, giving our world and every individual mind the quality it has of a kaleidoscope. The problem for every man . . . would still seem to be to try to know the nature of this process, to sort out the sounds and distinguish among the sights, to understand the effect in his own mind and in the minds of others. It is at least barely possible that





this knowledge can help make the new relationships, the new assumptions, the new images, a little less unflattering to themselves and to human society.<sup>3</sup>

#### Footnotes for Chapter VI

1. A feature story on the Japanese in the Lethbridge area of southern Alberta was written by Jay Walz of *The New York Times* and was reproduced in *The Edmonton Journal* on May 28, 1970. In this coverage a *nisei* on the Senate of the University of Alberta (Lethbridge) is quoted as saying that the Japanese in that area place participation in the larger Canadian community above concern with their Japanese heritage.
2. M. Gordon, 1964, p. 265.
3. H. Isaacs, 1962, p. 408.



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July, 1969

## INTERVIEW GUIDE

Your name \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Marital Status \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_

Home Address \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Do you own your home? \_\_\_\_\_

Are there any other Japanese in your neighborhood? \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Formal Education \_\_\_\_\_

Where was this received? \_\_\_\_\_

Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_ When did you come to Edmonton? \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Spouse \_\_\_\_\_

Birthplace of spouse \_\_\_\_\_

When did she come to Edmonton? \_\_\_\_\_

Education of Spouse \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation of Spouse \_\_\_\_\_

How many children do you have and what are their ages and level of education?

Boys \_\_\_\_\_

Girls \_\_\_\_\_

If any of these are not living at home, what is their address? \_\_\_\_\_

Are there any other persons living in your household? \_\_\_\_\_



Information regarding your family background:

	Birthplace	When came to Canada	Occupation	Education
Father				
Father's parents				
Mother				
Mother's parents				
Spouse's father				
Spouse's fa parents				
Spouse's mother				
Spouse's mo parents				

Questions re VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS: Do you or any member of your family participate in any of the following groups?

Civic:

City Council \_\_\_\_\_

Public or Separate School Board \_\_\_\_\_

Parents' Associations:

Home and School \_\_\_\_\_

Brownie Mothers \_\_\_\_\_

Community League \_\_\_\_\_

Others of this sort \_\_\_\_\_

Cub Mothers \_\_\_\_\_

Little League \_\_\_\_\_

Community Concern Groups: Do you contribute to any of the following?

Red Cross \_\_\_\_\_

Crippled Childrens Assn \_\_\_\_\_

YMCA \_\_\_\_\_

Cancer Society \_\_\_\_\_

YWCA \_\_\_\_\_

SPCA \_\_\_\_\_

Indian-Eskimo Association \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

Politics:

Are you a member of any political party (need not specify)? \_\_\_\_\_

Fraternal or Benevolent Associations:

Private Service Club:

Private Family Club:





### Business or Professional Associations. Unions:

Specify

Are you self-employed?

Are you employed by a large firm (over 500 employees)?

Are you employed by a small firm (less than 500 employees)?

Do you participate in the firm's recreational or educational programs, if any?

### Religious Affiliation:

Do you attend a church regularly? \_\_\_\_\_ Occasionally? \_\_\_\_\_

Which denomination? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you or your family participate in any church group, and if so, specify whether it is a group for young people or for adults \_\_\_\_\_

### Recreation: What do you and your family do?

Sports \_\_\_\_\_

Cultural Activities (music, art, drama, folk dancing, ballet) \_\_\_\_\_

Hobbies \_\_\_\_\_

What does your family like to do during the summer holidays? \_\_\_\_\_

### Values:

How would you like to be able to describe yourself at age 65?

Husband \_\_\_\_\_

Wife \_\_\_\_\_

What sort of persons do you hope your children will become at age 20? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you have any problems at your place of work? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you think you have any problems with your children? \_\_\_\_\_





What do you think the term "generation gap" means?

What do you think of the appearance in recent TV shows and commercials of negro men, women and children as persons rather than as star entertainers?

Re Evacuation During the 1940's:

What do you think of this event in Canadian history?

What in your opinions is its significance for Japanese Canadians?

Knowledge of Japanese Culture:

Do you read the newspaper THE NEW CANADIAN from Toronto?  
Or THE CONTINENTAL from Spokane?

Do you speak or write Japanese?

Is Japanese used in your household?

Where did you learn Japanese?

Does your wife speak or write Japanese?

Where did she learn Japanese?

Do any members of your family speak or write Japanese?

At home do you sometimes serve Japanese foods?

Do any members of your family correspond with relatives in Japan?

In view of the recent publicity regarding EXPO 70 and the Albertan-Japanese industrial agreements, have you and your family become more interested in Japanese culture?

Do you plan to attend EXPO 70?



UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Conducted under the auspices of the Anthropology Department at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, March 1970. This is part of a current research project. The purpose of this questionnaire is to elicit your present image (opinions and attitudes) about the Japanese. Your answers are confidential. University students have been selected on the assumption they would be informed and interested in furthering social science research. Your responses will be much appreciated. Do NOT sign your name. Please complete in pen or pencil and hand in to your instructor.

1. (a) How many years of university have you completed? \_\_\_\_\_ years

(b) What is your major field? (tick one) social science \_\_\_\_\_  
humanities \_\_\_\_\_  
natural sciences \_\_\_\_\_  
education \_\_\_\_\_  
other \_\_\_\_\_

(c) Before attending University of Alberta how many years did you live in a city over 250,000 population? (tick one)  
not at all \_\_\_\_\_  
under 5 years \_\_\_\_\_  
under 10 years \_\_\_\_\_  
under 20 years \_\_\_\_\_  
20 years or more \_\_\_\_\_

(d) Have you ever had a Japanese friend? yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_

(e) Do you have, or did you have, a friend with a Japanese friend? yes \_\_\_\_\_

(f) Do you, or did you ever, attend classes, groups, meetings, which are attended by Japanese persons? yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_

(g) Have you read, or heard via radio or TV, stories, articles or news items about the Japanese or with a Japanese background?

2. What is your estimate about Japanese population represented in the following? The figures under the area are the total population according to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census. (Tick once under each category)

	In Canada	In Alberta	In Edmonton
Total pop.	18,200,623	1,331,944	435,000
under 100			
100 to 500			
500 to 1000			
1000 to 5000			
5000 to 10,000			
10,000 to 25,000			
25,000 to 50,000			









Q. ...  
 A. ...

Q. ...

Q. ...

Q. ...

Q. ...

Q. It is often said that the Japanese are ...  
 What do you think a person saying this would be ...

- that it is impossible for Westerners to understand ...
- that it is difficult for Canadians to understand ...
- that the ...
- other ...





## APPENDIX C

## OCCUPATIONS OF JAPANESE CANADIANS NOW IN EDMONTON

This list includes occupations of all heads of families and the six single persons, plus those of wives regardless of whether they work now or not.

Number of Persons	Occupation	Blishen's Class
1	architect	1
3	medical doctors (1 in research)	1
4	engineers	1 or 2
6	teachers	2
1	educational theorist	1
4	registered nurses	2
1	chartered accountant	2
1	chick sexer (manager)	2
1	communications engineer	2
1	vegetable processor (manager)	2
1	hotel proprietor-manager	2
5	secretaries	3
1	key-punch operator	3
1	bookkeeping machine operator	3
1	lab technician	3
1	purchasing agent	3
2	in oil business	4
1	foreman (construction)	4
1	mechanic	5
1	clerk	5
1	contractor-hauler	5
2	dress designers, seamstress	6
1	carpenter	6
1	barber	6
1	unskilled labourer	7









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